THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH

‘A Study of the “Post Genetic”: Emily Brontë’s “EJB” Notebook, 1844 to the Present’.

Patricia A. Ayrton

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

2018

Abstract

Emily Brontë began transcription of two poetry notebooks in February 1844. The title of one, 'Gondal Poems' is self-explanatory in its content and focus. But the purpose of the second, simply headed 'EJB. Transcribed Febuary [sic] 1844' has never been fully explored. It has not been recognised as a discrete piece of work, nor has it been printed in a complete edition of Emily's work with the exact text, and in the sequence in which she created it. In this thesis I ask what Emily's composition of her EJB notebook reveals about her as a writer and thinker, and why readers have never had the opportunity to read the poems in the context that she created for them.

Chapter One examines the critical history of the poems, and here I describe the 'lexicon' created by Charlotte Brontë, Emily's first posthumous editor, through which much of Emily's work is still interpreted. I propose that the continued use of elements of this 'lexicon' impedes a recognition of Emily as a rigorous intellectual and thinker.

In Chapter Two I show how a sequential reading of the EJB poems places her within her contemporary intellectual world. I propose that her purposeful creation of the notebook provides evidence of an engagement with the philosophies and literature of early nineteenth-century Europe, and reveals not only a profound understanding of the thought-systems of the time, but also a capacity to use those systems to develop a unique philosophy through poetry, a philosophy which she then employed in her creation of *Wuthering Heights*. The EJB holograph is not currently available for examination but this investigation is supported by my own transcription of the notebook which is based on a set of photographs taken over eighty years ago.

Chapters Three, Four and Five are supported by a series of 'post genetic' diagrams which describe the textual development of the poems from the first publication of fifteen of them in 1846, to the most recent collected edition published in 1995. These chapters elucidate the effects of the activities and decisions of the editors, collectors and scholars who have influenced the texts and the presentations of the poems since the beginnings of transcription in 1844.

This thesis proposes that in creating her EJB notebook Emily constructed a discrete piece of work which should stand alone as evidence of her distinctive philosophical engagement with her contemporary intellectual world. It demands a new vocabulary through which to interpret Emily and her work, and it requires an end to the 'lexicon' which has shaped Emily Brontë scholarship since her death in 1848. The evidence presented in this thesis supports the need for a new and definitive edition of Emily's poems, and particularly for a contextual presentation of

the EJB notebook. This will enable a new conception of her as a systematic, methodical and abstract thinker, a philosopher-poet who has engaged with some of the foremost ideas of the early nineteenth-century.

Lay Summary

Emily Brontë (1818 – 1848) is best known for her novel *Wuthering Heights* published in 1847. But she also wrote approximately two hundred poems, seventy-six of which she transcribed into two notebooks, both begun in February 1844. The contents of one of these, headed 'Gondal Poems' is self-explanatory. It relates to poems concerning the imaginary land of 'Gondal' which she shared with her sister Anne. But the purpose of the second notebook, headed 'EJB. Transcribed Febuary [sic] 1844' has never been fully explored. Nor has it ever been printed in a complete edition of her poems with the exact text and in the sequence in which she transcribed it. In this thesis I ask what Emily's composition of her EJB notebook reveals about her as a writer and thinker, and why readers have never had the opportunity to read the poems in the context that she created for them.

In Chapter One I explore the lasting effects on a reading of Emily's work of her sister Charlotte's post-mortem revisions to the poems, and of the biographical descriptions that she introduced into the world of Emily Brontë criticism.

Emily spent 1842 as a pupil at a school in Brussels. In Chapter Two I describe the philosophies and ideas that I contend she would have encountered there and through her reading at home, and I examine the content and structure of the notebook in detail, uncovering evidence of a purposeful and idiosyncratic intellectual engagement with those thought-systems.

The original manuscript of the EJB notebook is no longer available for examination, but to support this investigation I provide my own transcription of the notebook, based on a set of photographs taken over eighty years ago.

In Chapters Three, Four and Five I examine the reasons why the poems of the notebook are still not available to the reader with Emily's original text and sequence. This exploration is supported by a series of 'post genetic' diagrams which show the development of the text from the context of the original manuscript through the different editions and transcriptions that have appeared since that time. These diagrams are accompanied by a discourse which describes the effects of the activities and decisions of the editors, collectors and scholars who have influenced both the texts and the presentation of the poems since Emily's first transcription in 1844.

I conclude that a sequential and contextual reading of the poems of the EJB notebook will provide a fresh view of Emily Brontë as a philosopher-poet who went on to use her own thought-system in the creative experiment that became her novel, *Wuthering Heights*.

Abbreviations Used in the Text

BA	Barnsley Archive and Local Studies Department
BBC	Barnsley Booklovers' Club
BL	British Library
BPM	Brontë Parsonage Museum
BST	Brontë Society Transactions
BS	Brontë Studies
SHB	Shakespeare Head Brontë
TLS	Times Literary Supplement
UBC	University of British Columbia
U of L, SC	University of Leeds, Special Collections
WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service

Contents **Page Number**

Introduction

Why is it necessary, or is it even possible, to carry out a fresh study of Emily Brontë's work? Surely everything that can be known about her and her writing has already been discovered and made public? These are among the first comments that I hear when I begin to describe the focus of my research. So before I explain the need for my own examination of Emily's work I think it necessary to clarify what is generally 'known' about Emily Brontë the poet today, and what that apparent knowledge brings to the reading and understanding of her writing.

Emily Brontë is most widely known for her only novel, *Wuthering Heights*, which was published in 1847. She is less well recognised as a poet, but she wrote approximately two hundred poems, and it was for some of these that she gained her first literary accolades during her lifetime.[1] My own research is concerned with the reading of her poetry, and of her 'EJB' notebook of poems in particular. [2] For this reason I think it crucial to consider how that poetry is presented and read today.

Contemporary readers can find Emily's poems in a variety of selections and anthologies, and in the two most recent complete editions of her poetry, which were published in 1992 and 1995 respectively.[3] She usually headed her poems with the date of composition, and the two most recent editions, together with several of their predecessors, present the dated poems in the chronological order of composition. This means that contemporary readers have one of two choices. They can either read the poems in the chronological order in which they are printed, or they can dip into her canon at random. In this thesis I explore how these restricted options prevent the modern reader from reading the poems as Emily wrote them, and consequently from being able to place her work within the intellectual world in which it was created, an exercise which I argue presents an entirely new picture of Emily Brontë as a thinker and philosopher and raises her intellectual profile above that which was previously recognised.

I have sought to answer several questions in this thesis. I ask what is revealed by the content and composition of the EJB notebook, and how an

---

[1] Twenty-one of Emily's poems were included in a collected edition of poems, together with twenty-one poems by Anne Brontë and nineteen by Charlotte. The volume was published in 1846 by Aylott and Jones and sold three copies. Chapter One describes the reviews of the book.

[2] Emily began transcription of two poetry notebooks in February 1844. One is headed 'Gondal Poems' and the other is headed 'EJB. Transcribed Febuary [*sic*] 1844'. Both notebooks contain previously written poems as well as some that were composed later than February 1844. In all, the two notebooks contain seventy-six of Emily's poems.

[3] Emily Brontë, *The Complete Poems*, Janet Gezari, ed. (London: Penguin, 1992).
Emily Brontë, *The Poems of Emily Brontë*, ed. Derek Roper with Edward Chitham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

understanding of this should affect perceptions of Emily the writer and thinker as evidenced by both her poems and her novel. I explore the reasons why her poems are still not read as I propose they should be, and I present my own views of how, based on the results of my research, I believe her work should be perceived and presented in the future.

The method that I have used in my study is what I refer to as 'post-genetic' and is based specifically on the poems of the EJB notebook. This process takes the poems from their genesis at the initial transcription and composition of the notebook and follows their history and transmission to the texts and presentations that are available to today's readers. To support this approach I have devised a series of 'post-genetic' diagrams which illustrate textual transmission over time. But diagrams alone, although relatively clear and explicit in their presentation of textual development, cannot detail the effects of the personalities involved in that history. Nor of their editorial preferences, their business interests, and the effects of their own positions and interactions within the cultural and social climates of their own worlds. I propose that the individuals involved in this story have had a substantial influence on the evolution of the text and presentation of Emily's poems, and consequently on the abiding view of her as a writer. A view which I contend masks the powerful intellectual purpose behind the creation of the EJB notebook, and thence of *Wuthering Heights*.

I have appended my own transcription of the EJB notebook because none of the complete editions of the poems yet presents them with the exact text, and in the sequence in which Emily Brontë first placed them. Figure 1 shows both the archival history and the current locations of Emily's poetry holographs, including the fact that the EJB notebook is not presently available for examination.[4] The notebook was last seen in 1934, when a set of photographs was taken. These photographs are now in the Brontë Parsonage Museum (BPM), and it is these images that I have used for my research and for my appended transcription. I am very grateful to the BPM for providing me with digital images of these photographs, which have enabled me to enhance and enlarge them, an advantage which was not available to Emily's previous editors. The limits of the photographic technology of the time at which the photographs were taken however, means that the information that can be obtained from these images is restricted. Throughout the thesis I reiterate my view that the holograph itself could still yield vital information, particularly if it were possible to examine it using multi-spectral imaging, a non-invasive procedure which could help

[4]Figures and Tables are included in Appendix B.

to determine the provenance of some of the editing which is apparent on the photographs.

Chapter One provides a critical framework within which to contextualise the editorial decisions that have led to the presentation of Emily's poems available to the modern reader. Apart from herself, Emily's first editor was her sister Charlotte. In this chapter I scrutinise the effect that Charlotte had on perceptions of Emily and of her work, and I propose that Charlotte's editorial, biographical, and fictional activities have resulted in a 'lexicon' through which Emily and her writing have been interpreted, and which has influenced criticism and editing in the intervening years. I explain how this is still affecting the reading of the poems today, and I assert the need for an end to the critical employment of what I refer to as Charlotte's 'Emily Brontë lexicon'. In my view it is now time to adopt a new vocabulary, one which recognises Emily's intellectual intentions, and crucially, her place in her own literary and philosophical world.

In Chapter Two I examine that context in detail, and here my use of the term 'context' carries a twofold meaning. It refers to the context of the poems in the notebook itself, and in particular to the sequence in which Emily transcribed them. But it also alludes to the context of the poems of the notebook in the intellectual world in which Emily was writing. I aim to show that a contextual reading of the poems of the EJB notebook indicates an engagement with contemporary intellectual and philosophical thought and provides significant evidence for a fresh perspective on Emily as a writer and thinker. I recognise an engagement with the post-Kantian philosophies and literature of early nineteenth-century Europe, which I suggest Emily could have encountered during her year of education in Brussels and in her reading of *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* magazines. It is my contention that her non-chronological ordering of the poems of the notebook shows evidence of the intention to use poetry as the means to develop her own philosophy based on the ideas that were a part of her contemporary intellectual zeitgeist. I show in detail how the content and construction of the notebook traces the development of a unique, philosophy, taking its structure from the notion of *a priori* intuition, a concept which began with Kant, but was developed by Schiller in poetic form. The Brontë family owned a copy of Schiller's poems and this is now in the BPM. I propose that the continued failure of editors to present the poems in Emily's own context has made it impossible for readers to recognise her philosophical and intellectual achievements. No reader has yet been able to trace the development of Emily's philosophy from a reading of her EJB notebook. It is my view that the genesis of the ideas behind the composition and construction of *Wuthering Heights* is evident in the poems of the notebook, and I explain that the reader's inability to perceive the purpose behind the

poems leads to a further incapacity to comprehend the creative experiment which I recognise in the creation of the novel.

The EJB notebook contains thirty-one poems written on twenty-nine pages. Fifteen of these poems were included in *Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell* in 1846,[5] but they were not printed in the sequence in which they had been transcribed in the notebook, nor was the 1846 text identical to that of the same poems in the notebook. A further eight were revised and included by Charlotte in her 1850 collection,[6] and the remaining eight were transcribed, somewhat inaccurately, by Charlotte's husband, Arthur Bell Nicholls, at some time between 1848 and 1895.[7] Chapter Three describes the early publication and transcription history of these poems, and their consequent removal from the context of the notebook.
It is fortunate that Emily began transcription of two poetry notebooks in February 1844, and that the second one, the Gondal notebook, is now in the British Library.[8] In Chapter Three I question the view held by some critics and editors that Charlotte chose the poems for the 1846 edition, and I use the high quality digital images of the Gondal notebook provided by the British Library to formulate and test my own hypothesis, that the choosing of poems for that edition was a collaborative and not a Charlotte-led activity.

By 1895 all the poems of the EJB notebook had been reproduced, either in a second volume, or in private transcription. But it was in that year that the business partnership between the journalist Clement King Shorter and the book-collector Thomas James Wise emerged. These two men had different but converging ambitions, which were best served by collaboration. Wise, who was the richer, aimed to possess and to pass on Brontë MSS for pecuniary gain. Shorter wanted to be a biographer, and to make a name for himself in the literary world. In Chapter Four I show how by serving their own interests, and by often misrepresenting and concealing the truth, this pair influenced knowledge of the EJB notebook and other Brontë MSS for the next forty years. The confusion that resulted from the Shorter-Wise partnership affected textual accuracy and authenticity, and as a result removed the EJB poems even further from their original context. In fact, it called into question the very existence of the notebook during the first two decades of the twentieth-century.

---

[5] Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë, *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell* (London: Aylott and Jones, 1846).
[6] Ellis and Acton Bell, *Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey,* A new edition revised, with a Biographical Notice of the Authors, A Selection from their Literary Remains, and a Preface, by Currer Bell (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1850).
[7] Emily Brontë, *Poems of Emily Brontë*, transcribed by Arthur Bell Nicholls, date unknown. Now in the Huntington Library, California, HM 2581. Figure 3.1 describes the publication and transcription history of these poems from 1844 – 1895.
[8] BL Add. MS. 43483.

If the Wise-Shorter years were marked by inaccurate information and doubtful texts, a partnership developed during the nineteen-twenties which applied a more principled and conscientious level of scholarship to the editing of Emily's poems. In 1925 the EJB notebook was rediscovered, among other Brontë MSS, in the library of Alfred Law at Honresfeld in Littleborough. The antiquarian Davidson Cook who made the discovery, engaged in a long correspondence with Brontë scholar C.W. Hatfield. Hatfield was already aware of some of the discrepancies which had appeared in apparently established Brontë texts. The questions that Hatfield asked, and Cook's answers, helped to establish authenticity for many Brontë texts, and in particular for the text of the EJB notebook of which Cook made a transcript.

This led to a situation in which by 1933 when the Gondal notebook became available for public scrutiny, it was possible for an editor to produce an edition of Emily's poems with an accurate text and with the poems of the two notebooks presented in her original sequence. For the EJB poems this would have given readers an opportunity to begin to recognise the ideas behind Emily's creation of the notebook. But this did not happen. Chapter Five asks why Davidson Cook's rediscovery still did not lead to an edition of the poems that enabled the reader to recognise Emily's ideas and her philosophical engagement in her transcription of the notebook. In seeking to answer this question I expose several different levels of editorial choice, which had varying degrees of influence on the text that is available to today's reader.

A lasting impediment to a recognition of the intellectual purpose behind the EJB notebook is the sequence in which the poems are presented, and I examine the editorial choices that have led to the continued failure to print the poetry in Emily's original sequence.

I have said that the EJB notebook has not been publicly available since 1934, but in that year a facsimile copy of the pages of the notebook was made and appended to an edition of Emily's and Anne's poems by T.J. Wise and J.A. Symington.[9] This facsimile became the authoritative text for those poems for much of the twentieth-century. But in Chapter Five I uncover evidence that the printed facsimile was the result of editing, and that what was viewed as an accurate and authentic record was less trustworthy than had been assumed. This editing affected the editions of the poems that were published between 1940 and 1992, and

[9] Emily and Anne Brontë, *The Poems of Emily Jane Brontë and Anne Brontë*, ed. Thomas J. Wise and John A. Symington, 'The Shakespeare Head Brontë' (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1934).

although a further edition was published in 1995 which did not rely on the facsimile, some Brontë scholars still refer to it as an authoritative source.[10]

Derek Roper's 1995 volume[11] uses the BPM photographs rather than the facsimile, but his edition is the result of a particular editorial preference and still does not allow the reader to see the poems as Emily wrote and sequenced them. In his 1950-51 essay 'The Rationale of Copy-Text' the bibliographer and scholar W.W. Greg distinguishes between the 'substantive' in a text, and what he terms as 'accidentals'.[12] To Greg, the substantive readings of a text are those that affect the author's meaning, and accidentals include spelling and punctuation. Roper has adopted Greg's word 'substantive' and in doing so has created, in his edition, a hybrid text for the poems that were first printed in 1846. He takes the structure and the 'accidentals' from the holograph as represented by the photographs and incorporates into that framework the 'substantive' readings of 1846. This composite approach to textual editing was criticised by Kathryn Sutherland in 2009. Describing the practice of the 'New Bibliographers' which in her view dominated scholarly editing during the twentieth-century, she said that it 'results in a text that never has been'.[13] She also goes on to describe the long shelf-life of many of the scholarly editions whose editors employed this technique, ensuring that although the practice has now fallen out of favour, the results still dominate much of the scholarly world. This is certainly the situation with Roper's 1995 edition of Emily Brontë's poems. It is the most recent volume, and leaves today's readers with a set of poems that Emily did not write, and presents them in chronological order, further concealing the ideas that are evident in a contextual reading of the EJB notebook.

A recognition of Emily's philosophical engagement with her contemporary intellectual world will result in a fresh reading of both her poetry and her novel. It will free Emily Brontë scholarship from the constraints of the lexicon which has directed it for far too long. It will enable a new conception of her as a systematic, methodical, and yet abstract thinker, with a unique capacity to express her philosophy through poetry. But this will only be made possible by a complete re-evaluation of both the critical and editorial treatments of her poetry.

---

[10] For example: Deborah Lutz, *The Brontë Cabinet: Three Lives in Nine Objects* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2015), Chapter 6, n.3, p.278.
[11] Roper, ed. (1995).
[12] W.W. Greg, 'The Rationale of Copy-Text' *Studies in Bibliography,* Fredson Bowers, ed., Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Vol. III, 1950-1951, pp.19-36.
Kathryn Sutherland, 'Being Critical: Paper-based Editing and the Digital Environment', *Text Editing, Print and the Digital World,* ed. Marilyn Deegan and Kathryn Sutherland (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp.13-25.

Chapter One: Early Criticism and the Lasting Influence of Charlotte Brontë

Emily Brontë's non-chronological transcription of her EJB notebook signals a purposeful ordering of the poems that she chose to include. An examination of this, and a related search for evidence of her engagement with contemporary ideas must reference a critical framework. This framework is crucial to the thesis as it will serve to contextualise editorial decisions over time, a process which is necessary to understanding why the poems of the notebook are not yet read as they were presented in the transcription of February 1844. In devising and using a critical framework however, it should be recognised, as far as is possible, where historic criticism has been based on Emily's work, and where it has been affected by other factors.

This chapter will propose that the critical history of Emily Brontë's writing is not just based on the work that she produced, but also on the interpretations, additions, and biographical details provided by her sister Charlotte. Robin Grove, in *The Art of Emily Brontë* (1976), suggests that:

> In some ways the Life of Emily Brontë is [Charlotte's] most compelling work of art, though it does not offer itself as art at all, but as the simple truth.[1]

I argue that not only did Charlotte write the new 'Life of Emily Brontë', but that she also created an Emily 'lexicon' which has become embedded in Emily Brontë scholarship, and which still informs readings of her work. I define the genesis and the ongoing critical use of this lexicon.

In parallel to Charlotte's 'Emily lexicon' this chapter examines and defines the critical history that has not been influenced by Charlotte; whilst recognising that until 1926, and sometimes later, the changes and additions that Charlotte made to some of Emily's poetry affected even this branch of criticism. This second area of criticism has added its own vocabulary to Emily Brontë scholarship, and this will help to inform further investigation into the intellectual and philosophical engagements evident in the work.

The Early Reviews

Emily Brontë's public criticism began with the reviews of *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell* in 1846.[2] This was a combined edition in which poems by Charlotte,

[1] Robin Grove, '"It Would Not Do": Emily Brontë as Poet', *The Art of Emily Brontë*, Anne Smith, ed. (London: Vision Press, 1976), pp.33-67 (p.36).
[2] Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë (1846).

Emily and Anne Brontë were interspersed.[3] The collection contains sixty-one poems of which twenty-one are by Emily. Of these, fifteen are from the EJB and six from the Gondal notebook. The book was initially printed by Aylott and Jones of Paternoster Row in London in 1846, and then again by Smith, Elder in 1848.[4]

The criticism of the 1846 imprint was not extensive[5] and only rarely differentiated between the contributions of the three 'Bells'. In terms of Emily's poems, the most notable review appeared in *The Athenæum* of 4 July 1848. The reviewer, Sidney Dobell, said of the Bells' 'instinct of song':

> It is shared, however, by the three brothers – as we suppose them to be – in very unequal proportions; requiring, in the case of Acton Bell, the indulgences of affection, to which we have alluded to make it music, and rising, in that of Ellis, into an inspiration, which may yet find an audience in the outer world. A fine quaint spirit has the latter, which may have things to speak that men will be glad to hear, - and an evident power of wing that may reach heights not here attempted.[6]

As a poet of the 'Spasmodic' School Dobell's praise of Emily Brontë's work has significance. In his 1844 essay, 'Henry Taylor and the Author of "Festus", R.H. Horne, himself a 'Spasmodic' critic and poet, discussed what he saw as the conflict between reason and imagination in poetry. He introduced his analysis by saying:

> The unrepressed vigour of imagination, - and the graceful display of philosophical thought; the splendour of great and original imagery, - and the level dignity of the operations of the understanding; the passion of poetry, - and the sound sense of poetry; are proposed to be discussed in this essay.[7]

The discussion that follows compares the imaginative imagery in P. J. Bailey's 'Festus' with the prosaic poetry of Henry Taylor; and in describing Bailey's imagery it evokes a similar poetic flight to that attributed by Dobell to the work of Ellis Bell.

The three reviews of the first edition of *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell* were the only ones to be unaffected by knowledge of future Brontë publications, or by biographical information. In fact, they were the only reviews able to judge the

---

[3] The three sisters published this collection under the gender-neutral nom de plumes of Currer (Charlotte), Ellis (Emily) and Acton (Anne). They gave themselves the surname of Bell.

[4] Only two copies of the first imprint of 1000 copies were sold, although several were passed to reviewers or given as gifts. In 1848 Charlotte wrote to her own publishers, Smith Elder, to ask for advice about the future of the book. They bought the remaining stock of 961 copies from Aylott and Jones, and reprinted the book. The new edition retained the date 1846 on the title-page, but 'Aylott and Jones' was replaced by 'Smith, Elder and Co.' The edition, which appeared in November 1848, included sale catalogues in the back, dated May 1848.

[5] Only three reviews were published. They appeared in *The Critic* (July 1846), *The Athenæum* (4 July 1846), and *The Dublin University Magazine* (October 1846).

[6] Sidney Dobell. 'My Dream and other Poems', *The Athenæum*, 4 July 1846, p.682.

[7] R. H. Horne, *A New Spirit of the Age* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1844), p.348.

poems entirely on their own merit, without external influence. By the time the second edition of the *Poems* appeared in 1848, the three Bells were also known for their novels: *Jane Eyre* by Currer Bell, *Wuthering Heights* by Ellis Bell, and *Agnes Grey* by Acton Bell. The reviews that followed the second edition were therefore complicated by the reception of these novels, and by the discourse that had begun regarding the identity of the authors. And indeed, whether there were three authors or only one. *The Critic* of 15 December 1848 justified its decision to print a second review of *Poems* by saying, '[since] then [the publication of the first review in 1846] the decision of the public has ratified the opinion on that occasion expressed of the genius of the authors.'[8] *The Critic* noted that:

> With very few exceptions, the poems of Ellis deal with abstract ideas rather than with actual events. He is the most metaphysical of the three.[9]

In contrast, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* of December 1848 suggested that:

> The little volume of poems bears the impress of one mind. If there have been three of the family engaged on this thin book, they must be marvellously alike.[10]

After this time, criticism of Emily's novel and her poetry were often combined within one piece of writing. But it was a review of *Wuthering Heights* from *Britannia* on 15 January 1848 that first suggested similarity in thought between her fictional writing and that of some German writers:

> His [Ellis Bell's] work is strangely original. It bears a resemblance to some of those irregular German tales in which writers, giving the reins to their fancy, represent personages as swayed and impelled to evil by supernatural influences.[11]

This connection was not cited again until it was recognised by Mary Ward in the early twentieth century, but in time it gained a place in continuing Emily Brontë scholarship.

The reviews that appeared between 1846 and 1850, although in some cases affected by the reception of *Wuthering Heights* and by the apparent fascination with the identities of the three Bells, were the last pieces of criticism to focus on Emily Brontë the writer, as she presented herself and her work to the world. The events of

---

[8] Anonymous review, *The Critic*, 15 December 1848, pp.486-487. The first review of *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell* appeared in the *Critic* of 4 July 1846.
[9] *The Critic*, December 1848, p.486.
[10] Anonymous review, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, December 1848, pp.860-861.
[11] Anonymous review, *Britannia*, 15 January 1848, pp.42-43.

the following years had an influence on Emily Brontë criticism and reception that still shapes interpretation of her work today; and has certainly affected the terminology that has been, and is often still, applied to her writing.

Charlotte Brontë's Reconstruction of Emily

The study of Charlotte Brontë's interventions into the work of her sister Emily should be approached sensitively. That she made changes to some of Emily's poems, and that she put forward her own portrait of Emily to the world in the Biographical Notice with which she prefaced the 1850 edition of *Wuthering Heights* is no longer in doubt. Davidson Cook, an antiquarian working on Robert Burns MSS at the Honresfeld library of Sir Alfred Law in Littleborough, rediscovered the EJB notebook in 1926. He noted textual discrepancies between the poems that appeared in the 1850 edition and the originals in the holograph; and he published an account of his observations in *The Nineteenth Century and After* of August 1926:

> The reliability of Charlotte Brontë as sponsor for and editor of the poems by Emily which were included in the 1850 volume has never been queried, and the fidelity and authenticity of the text of the poems has not been even remotely suspected. Howbeit, the Honresfeld manuscript compels a complete revision of accepted ideas, in view of the direct evidence it affords that Charlotte was unquestionably infected with that most annoying of editorial diseases, "altermania".[12]

Since then the subject has been dealt with by critics and commentators in different ways. Stevie Davies, writing in 1994 said:

> [after] her death, Charlotte rewrote Emily's character, history and even poems on a (to her and the bourgeois reading public) more acceptable model.[13]

In saying this she implied that there was an element of judgement of Emily as she was, and as she wrote, in Charlotte's reconstruction.

Lucasta Miller is more equivocal in her approach. She considered Charlotte's changes to the poems to be patronising, but said:

> Charlotte's editing of Emily embodies her conflicting feelings, […] Charlotte believed that the world had not sufficiently appreciated Emily's poetry. Perhaps she thought her improvements would ensure it a better reception, though the changes do little for the poetry beyond stifling Emily's originality.[14]

---

[12] Davidson Cook, 'Emily Brontë's Poems', *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Vol. C, July – December 1926, August 1926, p.249.
[13] Stevie Davies, *Emily Brontë: Heretic* (London: The Women's Press, 1994), p.16.
[14] Lucasta Miller, *The Brontë Myth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2001), p.180.

While admitting that the revisions to the poems did not improve them, she does allow for a possibly more sympathetic motive than that proposed by Davies.

Dinah Birch, writing in 2011, puts forward a more humane interpretation. She discusses the effects that Charlotte's interventions and revisions have had on the present-day view of Emily Brontë and her work, and makes the very perceptive comment that:

> Though we might see such covert interference as an offence to the integrity of scholarship, our indignation would be misplaced. Charlotte was not a professional scholar. She was a writer, and the single survivor of a family of six, and she was coming to terms with her grief through serving her sister's memory in what she believed to be the most effective way.[15]

This statement puts the present investigation into perspective. The approach should be clear, judicious and humane. We can, and we should, try to understand why Charlotte Brontë did what she did. But equally, it is crucial to be clear about the effect that her actions have had on continuing readings of her sister's poetry. In the light of this knowledge it will be possible to establish what can be done to counter those effects.

The Context

In order to scrutinize the long-term effects of the events that took place in the years between 1848 and 1857 it is important to understand the context within which they had their origins.

Wuthering Heights, Emily Brontë's only known novel, was published in December 1847 and its critical reception was varied. *The Athenæum*, while suggesting that the book may have been the work of the author of *Jane Eyre*, called it 'a disagreeable story,'[16] and an anonymous reviewer in *Graham's Magazine* of July 1848 said that it was 'a compound of vulgar depravity and unnatural horrors.'[17] Most reviews used the word 'power' in their description of the book or its author, but this was often qualified, as in *The Atlas* review of 22 January 1848:

> *Wuthering Heights* is a strange, inartistic story. There are evidences in every chapter of a sort of rugged power – an unconscious strength – which the possessor seems never to think of turning to the best advantage. The general effect is inexpressibly painful.[18]

[15] Dinah Birch, 'Emily Brontë', *The Cambridge Companion to English Poets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.408-421, (p.411).
[16] Anonymous review, *The Athenæum*, 25 December 1847, pp.1324-1325.
[17] Anonymous review, *Graham's Magazine*, July 1848, p.32.
[18] Anonymous review, *The Atlas*, 22 January 1848, p.59.

The sentiments expressed by this reviewer have some relevance when reread in the context of Charlotte's later activities.

Emily Brontë died on 19 December 1848 after some months of illness, and by her own admission her sister Charlotte was devastated. On 2 January 1849, two weeks after Emily's death, she wrote to her publisher William Smith Williams:

> Life has become very void, and hope has proved a strange traitor: when I shall again be able to put confidence in her suggestions, I know not; she kept whispering that Emily would not – could not die – and where is she now? Out of my reach – out of my world, torn from me.[19]

Two days after Emily's funeral[20] Charlotte wrote a poem expressing her raw grief:

> My darling, thou wilt never know
> The grinding agony of woe
> That we have borne for thee.
> Thus may we consolation tear
> E'en from the depth of our despair
> And wasting misery.
>
> The nightly anguish thou art spared
> When all the crushing truth is bared
> To the awakening mind,
> When the galled heart is pierced with grief,
> Till wildly it implores relief,
> But small relief can find.
>
> Nor knowst though what it is to lie
> Looking forth with streaming eye
> On life's lone wilderness.
> 'Weary, weary, dark and drear,
> How shall I the journey bear,
> The burden and distress?'
>
> Then since thou art spared such pain
> We will not wish thee here again;
> He that lives must mourn.
> God help us through our misery
> And give us rest and joy with thee
> When we reach our bourne![21]

In terms of Charlotte's future activities with regard to Emily, the most significant lines of this poem come in the third stanza in which she says: 'How shall I the journey

---

[19] Charlotte Brontë to William Smith Williams, 2 January 1849, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë, Vol. 2, 1848 – 1851,* Margaret Smith, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.165.
[20] Emily Brontë's funeral was on 22 December 1848.
[21] Charlotte Brontë, 'On the Death of Emily Jane Brontë', Juliet Barker, ed. *Selected Poems: The Brontës* (London: Dent, 1993), p.21.

bear, | The burden and distress?' The 'burden' could be interpreted as a purely domestic one of coping with the death of a loved one in a family setting. But when read within the literary (but still personal to Charlotte) context of the reception of *Wuthering Heights*, and the suggestions of 'disagreeableness' at the least, and 'vulgar depravity' at the worst, the 'burden' could become the responsibility that Charlotte felt that she had, to clear her sister's name for posterity.

At the time of Emily's death Charlotte was engaged in writing her novel, *Shirley*, which she completed in 1849. In September 1850 she corresponded with William Smith Williams of Smith, Elder, her publishers, about the possibility of reissuing *Wuthering Heights* with *Agnes Grey* by Anne Brontë.[22] She said:

> If Mr. Smith thinks it proper to reprint *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* I would prepare a Preface comprising a brief and simple notice of the authors – such as might set at rest all erroneous conjectures respecting their identity – and adding a few poetical remains of each.[23]

This was the first indication that Charlotte intended to tackle the 'burden' left to her by Emily's death. When published, this edition contained a 'Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell' and 'Currer Bell's Preface to *Wuthering Heights*'[24] as well as the two novels and a selection of poems by both Emily and Anne.

It is apparent that, in writing the Biographical Notice contained in this edition, and the Preface to *Wuthering Heights*, Charlotte not only 'set at rest any erroneous conjectures'[25] about Emily's identity, but she also succeeded in creating a picture of her sister which has informed reading of her work to the present day. Charlotte said that Emily was not learned, and that she did not acquire knowledge from 'the well-spring of other minds.'[26] Her intellect was 'unripe […] inefficiently cultured and partially expanded.'[27] In her nature

> The extremes of vigour and simplicity seemed to meet. Under an unsophisticated culture, inartificial tastes, and an unpretending outside, lay a secret power and fire that might have informed the brain and kindled the veins of a hero.[28]

This description of Emily can be read as a response to the *Atlas* reviewer who had deplored Ellis Bell's failure to turn her 'unconscious strength' to 'the best

[22] Anne Brontë died in May 1849.
[23] Charlotte Brontë to William Smith Williams,13 September 1850, Smith, ed. (2000), pp.465-466.
[24] C. Brontë, ed. (1850).
[25] C. Brontë, Smith ed. (2000).
[26] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.xv.
[27] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.xii.
[28] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.xv.

advantage'. Charlotte suggests here that the power and vigour, the strength noted by the reviewer, was unconscious because it lay so deeply hidden beneath a simple and 'unpretending outside'. In Charlotte's interpretation it was due to Emily's simplicity and 'unsophisticated culture' and her lack of learning, that she had failed to turn her strength to 'the best advantage'.

Significantly, the *Atlas* review was one of three reviews quoted in the 1850 edition.[29] But, as with the other two reviews quoted, the focus of the extract was on the environment in which Emily lived, and in which *Wuthering Heights* was set. It is not possible to know definitively who chose the reviews quoted in the 1850 edition, but the likelihood that it was Charlotte is supported by the environmental bias of the extracts. Both the *Britannia* and *Atlas* reviewers liken Ellis Bell to Salvator Rosa, an artist whose works were noted for their dramatic natural landscapes. In the Preface to *Wuthering Heights* Charlotte described her perception of Emily's relationship with nature. She called her 'a native and nursling of the moors,'[30] and said:

> Ellis Bell did not describe as one whose eye and taste alone find pleasure in the prospect; her native hills were far more to her than a spectacle; they were what she lived in; and by, as much as the wild birds, their tenants, or as the heather, their produce.[31]

In fact, in Charlotte's opinion, Emily was almost one with nature.

In summarising her sister's nature, Charlotte said, 'An interpreter ought always to have stood between her and the world.'[32] Some, but not all, of her attempts at this interpretation, appear in the 1850 edition. Their potential effects on readers and critics can be judged by a review of the book, which appeared in *The Eclectic Review* of February 1851. It began:

> We purpose dealing rather with the Biographical Notice prefixed to this volume, than with the two works which it contains. There are various reasons for this. It is sufficient to say that the former interests us deeply, which the latter do not.[33]

Even at this early stage, Charlotte's interpretation of Emily had had the consequence of moving the reader's focus from the work itself to the picture of the author as painted by Charlotte. It becomes apparent that the terms and phraseology

[29] The other two reviews from which extracts were printed in the 1850 edition were *The Palladium* and *The Britannia*.
[30] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.xx.
[31] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), pp.xx-xxi.
[32] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.xv.
[33] Anonymous review, *The Eclectic Review*, February 1851, pp.222-227 (p.222).

employed by Charlotte in this successful reinterpretation of her sister have continued to flourish, and to have influence in the public and in the critical mind.

The Poems of 1850

The final section of the 1850 edition of *Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey* is headed 'Selections from the Literary Remains of Ellis and Acton Bell'. The part headed 'Poems, by Ellis Bell' contains seventeen poems, some headed by explanatory notes by Charlotte. Of these poems, eight are from the EJB notebook and eight are from the Gondal notebook. The seventeenth poem, 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning' has not been found in MS form, and its authorship is still the subject of scholarly debate and dissent.

Beginning with Davidson Cook in 1926, much has been written about the changes that Charlotte made to Emily's poems in the 1850 edition. But, as with Emily's sequential transcription of the EJB notebook, I have been unable to find any studies of Charlotte's construction of the 'Poems, by Ellis Bell' section of the 1850 edition. Janet Gezari's treatment of the poems of 1850 is detailed and insightful, but it does not address the collection as an entity in itself.[34] It seems that, by their nature as apparently separate and complete pieces of work, poems are too often viewed in isolation rather than as a part of the larger structure in which they are contained. When a writer has included a poem in a purposefully created sequence, it is worth looking at the information afforded by its position. As with a fossil that tells less about its history once it has been removed from the rocky matrix in which it formed, we lose background information about the origins, context and purpose of a poem if we do not consider it in its original setting.

Charlotte Brontë's construction of 'Poems by Ellis Bell' cannot be examined exactly as Emily's construction of the EJB notebook should be, because Charlotte was apparently not the original author of the poems that she is presenting. Nevertheless, it is worth looking at the way that she chose to present Emily's poems, particularly as in the same edition she expressed her intention to 'wipe the dust' from Emily's gravestone.[35] Her presentation of these poems is likely to form a part of that exercise, and I consider that her construction of the section provides evidence that it was.

In addition to reproducing the poems contained in the edition, Charlotte added a prefatory note at the beginning of the section, and then explanatory notes

[34] Gezari (2007), pp.126-147.
[35] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.xvi.

above several of the poems.[36] The prefatory notice acts as an introduction to the first three poems of the sequence. In it Charlotte describes her view of Emily's experiences as a schoolgirl, her love of her home, the moors, and her need for liberty. She introduces the first poems as:

> […] three little poems of my sister Emily's, written in her sixteenth year, […] they illustrate a point in her character. […]
>
> The following pieces were composed at twilight, in the schoolroom, when the leisure of the evening play-hour brought back in full tide the thought of home.[37]

Following on from this note are three poems, 'A little while, a little while', 'The Bluebell', and 'Loud without the wind was roaring,'[38] all of which were written in November and December 1838, when Emily was twenty. The revisions to these poems suggest to the reader that Emily was a school-girl at the time of writing, and that she was homesick for her home and for the countryside around Haworth. The change in date suggests that Charlotte was changing the setting in which Emily wrote the poems. In 1834 (the date that she would have composed them had she been sixteen when they were written), Emily was a pupil at Roe Head School. In the winter of 1838, when the poems were actually composed, she was a teacher at Law Hill School in Halifax. The difference here is that the position of pupil is one that is imposed on a person, whether they will it or not, whereas to be a teacher it is likely that the position was sought out and chosen intentionally. The point of her character that Charlotte was apparently trying to illustrate, was that Emily was unhappy to be at school and away from home. Judging by Charlotte's comments in the biographical notice, the acquisition of a teaching post would imply more enthusiasm for learning than perhaps she was willing to attribute to her sister.

The scene-setting that Charlotte engages in her prefatory notice illustrates Dinah Birch's description of her a writer rather than a scholar. She is using her descriptive or novelistic skills here to recreate the Emily that she intends to develop through her revisions to the poems.

In 'A little while' Charlotte changed 'The noisy crowd are barred away', to 'The weary task is put away'; effectively changing the setting from a teacher who is given time away from her pupils, to a pupil who is allowed some respite from her school-work. She also omitted the verse that suggested that the poet's imagination

---

[36] Janet Gezari includes a very helpful appendix containing the poems as edited by Charlotte Brontë, in the order in which they were printed in the 1850 edition. But unfortunately she has omitted Charlotte's explanatory notes. Gezari, ed. (1992), pp.203-221.

[37] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), pp.471-473.

[38] I have used Charlotte Brontë's titles and texts here, rather than those that appear on Emily Brontë's holograph.

might take her to a place other than home; and she changed ‘wandering deer’ to ‘wandering sheep’ which is likely to be an attempt to make the setting more Haworth-like.

The revisions of ‘The Bluebell’ involve the omission of four stanzas describing the effect of different flowers on the poet, leaving only those that describe homesickness. The final poem in this group of three is ‘Loud without the wind was roaring’ and here Charlotte adds a new line: ‘Did my exiled spirit grieve’ to the end of the first verse. Exile is mentioned by Emily later in the poem: ‘What language can utter the feeling | That rose when, in exile afar,’.[39] But by placing the concept in the first verse Charlotte is bringing it to the reader’s attention immediately thereby shifting the focus of the poem, which had begun as a description of a song which recalls spring in the midst of winter.

The potential purposes behind the changes to these first three poems are twofold. By recreating Emily as an unhappy, homesick schoolgirl Charlotte is emphasising the description that she gave of her sister as ‘unlearned’ in her Biographical Notice. She is seen here as someone who could not wait to get away from school and return to the Haworth moorlands. The second purpose can be seen in changes that Charlotte made to ‘Loud without the wind was roaring. In her letter to William Smith Williams Charlotte had said that part of her purpose in editing this edition was to ‘set at rest all erroneous conjectures respecting their [Emily and Anne’s] identity’.[40] In this poem we see her attempting to do this. She changes Emily’s lines ‘Are the slopes where the north wind is raving | And the glens where I wandered of old’[41] to ‘Are the heights where the north-wind is raving, | And the crags where I wandered of old.’[42] This looks like an attempt to match the author of the poems to the authorship of *Wuthering Heights*.

The fourth poem in the sequence, ‘Shall Earth no more inspire thee,’ is preceded by a note which says:

> The following little piece has no title, but in it the Genius of a solitary region seems to address his wandering and wayward votary, and to recall within his influence the proud mind which rebelled at times against what it most loved.[43]

The poem that follows is unrevised apart from the punctuation. The wording of Charlotte’s note has significance. She calls the voice of the poem ‘the Genius of a

[39] Emily Brontë, 11 November 1838.
[40] Smith, ed. (2000).
[41] Emily Brontë, 11 November 1838.
[42] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.477.
[43] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.478.

solitary region' although it is hard to imagine that the voice can represent anything other than the voice of the Earth or of Nature, as is specified by Emily in her first stanza. The voice addresses the 'dreamer':

> Shall Earth no more inspire thee,
> Thou lonely dreamer now?
> Since passion may not fire thee
> Shall Nature cease to bow?[44]

But 'region' is a word that Emily has also used in the poem, 'Thy mind is ever moving | In regions dark to thee;'[45] and it will become apparent that it has a place in the reasoning behind Charlotte's editing of the poems.

'The Night-Wind' is the sixth poem in the sequence, and is headed by the note:

> Here again is the same mind in converse with a like abstraction. 'The Night-Wind,' breathing through an open window, has visited an ear which discerned language in its whispers.[46]

The changes to this poem occur in the final two stanzas, where Charlotte reworks Emily's wording, and then substitutes 'church-aisle stone' for Emily's 'church-yard stone' to give a description of the place where Emily Brontë was actually buried.

The fifth poem in the sequence is 'Ay – there it is! It wakes tonight',[47] and this is preceded by the note:

> In these stanzas a louder gale has roused the sleeper on her pillow; the wakened soul struggles to blend with the storm by which it is swayed:-[48]

This poem is heavily revised; the most significant change being in the final stanza. Emily's last verse reads:

> Thus truely when that breast is cold
> Thy prisoned soul shall rise
> The Dungeon mingle with the mould –
> The captive with the skies -⁻

Charlotte retains this text in her final stanza, but then adds a further five lines:

> Nature's deep being, thine shall hold,

[44] Emily Brontë, 16 May 1841.
[45] Ibid.
[46] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.479.
[47] Charlotte Brontë's wording.
[48] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.480.

Her spirit all thy spirit fold,
Her breath absorb thy sighs.
Mortal! Though soon life's tale is told;
Who once lives, never dies![49]

It will be seen that these additional lines are important in an examination of the effect of Charlotte's revisions on continuing readings of the EJB notebook. But here it should also be noted that when read in conjunction with Charlotte's own poem about her sister's death, these lines may have had more to do with Charlotte's own peace of mind when they were first written.

The poem that follows this one ('Love and Friendship') has no explanatory note, and neither do the eight Gondal poems that continue the sequence. But it must be observed that, while having no preceding explanation, the fourteenth poem in the sequence is important in that it is partly authored by Charlotte. 'The Visionary' takes its first three stanzas from 'Silent is the House' ('Julian M. and A.G. Rochelle') a poem from the Gondal notebook, part of which was also published in 1846 as 'The Prisoner, A Fragment'. Charlotte has taken the first three stanzas of 'Silent is the House' and has added two further verses. It is the content of these two verses that presumably led her to give the poem the title of 'The Visionary':

What I love shall come like visitant of air,
Safe in secret power from lurking human snare;
What loves[50] me, no word of mine shall e'er betray,
Though for faith unstained my life must forfeit pay.

Burn, then, little lamp; glimmer straight and clear –
Hush! A rustling wing stirs, methinks, the air:
He for whom I wait, thus ever comes to me;
Strange Power! I trust thy might; trust thou my constancy.[51]

There is one more Gondal poem after this one, and then there is 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning', the poem for which there is no MS evidence. The final poem of the sequence is 'No coward soul is mine', and this is preceded by the note, 'The following are the last lines my sister Emily ever wrote',[52] a claim which is now known to be untrue.

This detailed examination of Charlotte's construction of 'Poems, by Ellis Bell' serves to emphasise her resolve to use this edition to establish her reconstruction of Emily in the public eye. She had defined her version of Emily's character in her Biographical Notice and Preface. This was then supported by the prefatory and

[49] Ibid., p.481.
[50] The 1850 text says 'love's' here – presumably a misprint.
[51] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.488.
[52] Ibid., p.489.

explanatory notes and emphasised by her revisions and additions to the poetry. She ordered the poems carefully so that they would support the structure of the sixteenth poem, 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning', and *vice-versa*. These actions in respect of the sixteenth poem have not yet been recognised, but they are a crucial consideration for a discussion of the authorship of the poem.

The Authorship of 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning'

At some time between 1915 and 1941, C.W. Hatfield, a retired Customs and Excise Officer and an expert in the history and MSS of the Brontë family[53] annotated his own copy of an edition of Brontë poetry. The book was a selection of poems by all four of the Brontë siblings and was edited by Arthur C. Benson. 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning' is reproduced in this volume and is attributed to Emily Brontë. Hatfield has written above it in red pen:

> No manuscript of this poem. Probably by Charlotte Brontë as a 'secret explanation' of Emily. First printed by CB in 1850 among a selection of her sister Emily's poems.[54]

This is seemingly the first indication of any doubt about the authorship of the poem. Hatfield does not refer to his doubts in the 1923 edition of Emily Brontë's poems that he arranged and collated for Clement Shorter,[55] but in his own, 1941 edition, he adds a separate section at the end of the book entitled, 'Who was the author of this poem?' Here, he prints the poem, together with an explanation of his own reasons for suggesting that it is not the work of Emily Brontë. As well as citing the absence of a MS he says that the poem:

> […] savors [*sic*] more strongly of Charlotte than Emily, seeming to express Charlotte's thoughts about her sister, rather than Emily's own thoughts. Since the purpose of Charlotte's publication was to help bring the public to a better understanding of Emily's work, it would have been in keeping with the editorial liberties she took in other connections to offer such an interpretation of her sister in the guise of Emily's own words.[56]

---

[53] C. Mabel Edgerley, 'Obituary: Mr. C.W. Hatfield,' *The Brontë Society Transactions(BST)*, Vol. 10, Issue 3, 1 January 1942, pp.115-116.

[54] Handwritten note by C.W. Hatfield in his personal copy of, *Brontë Poems: Selections from the Poetry of Charlotte, Emily, Anne and Branwell Brontë*, ed. With an introduction by A.C. Benson, with portraits and facsimiles (London: Smith, Elder, 1915), copy now in the Brontë Parsonage Museum. The copy is inscribed by Benson to Hatfield, but there is no date given for the presentation.

[55] Emily Brontë, *The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë*, ed. Clement Shorter, Arranged and collated, with Bibliography and Notes, by C.W. Hatfield (1923: Hodder and Stoughton, London), pp.54-55.

[56] Emily Brontë, *The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë*, C.W. Hatfield, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), pp.255-256.

Hatfield's suggestions marked the beginning of a debate which still continues over seventy years later.

The debate has largely considered either Emily or Charlotte as author of the poem. But in 1982 Flora Katherine Willett wrote an article for *The Brontë Society Transactions* in which she proposed that Anne Brontë was the author.[57] The article does not inspire confidence as it contains several inaccuracies even before the question of authorship is addressed. Willett states that the 1850 edition contains thirty-eight poems by Emily, rather than the seventeen that are actually printed there. She also says that the poems by Emily and Anne are appended after each of their novels; which suggests that she had not read the edition in which the poem was printed before writing the article.

Willett proposes that Charlotte mistakenly shuffled one of Anne's loose sheets into the papers from which she was copying Emily's poems whilst she was compiling the edition. This is improbable, as of the poems by Emily that were printed in 1850, all (apart from 'Often rebuked'), originate from two complete notebooks and so there would have been no loose sheets for the poem to be shuffled amongst.

The year following the publication of this article, Edward Chitham wrote, also in *The Brontë Society Transactions*, refuting Willett's theory. He then suggested that Hatfield was also wrong, and that Emily was the author of the poem.[58] Chitham compares what he sees as Emily's thought processes in 'Often rebuked' to those in 'A little while, a little while' (EJB 2). In that poem, when she wishes to escape she gives herself the choice of home or Gondal, and she chooses Gondal. But in 'Often rebuked' he suggests that the 'shadowy region' represents Gondal, and this time she rejects that and chooses her home.

He discusses her use of the word 'real' in 'When weary with the long day's care' (EJB 25), and 'Oh, thy bright eyes must answer now,' (EJB 26), as evidence that she would also use the word 'unreal' with reference to visions. But he does not seem to recognise that in those EJB poems she never rejects the potentially unreal (or imaginary), as the writer of 'Often rebuked' does.

His final and most significant justification for Emily's authorship of this poem is that 'Charlotte did not stoop to fraud, so the work is not her own;'[59] This is a claim that I would question in the light of Charlotte's creation of 'The Visionary' and her treatment of 'Aye there it is!'.

---

[57] Flora Katherine Willett, 'Which Brontë was "Often Rebuked"?', *BST*, Vol. 18, Issue 2, 1 January 1982, pp.143-148.
[58] Edward Chitham, '"Often Rebuked…": Emily's After All?' *BST*, Vol. 18, Issue 3, 1 January 1983, pp.222–226.
[59] Edward Chitham, *BST*, p.226.

Chitham returns to the question of the authorship of 'Often rebuked' in a 2017 article in which he modifies his previous view. Here he suggests that Emily began the poem on a scrap of paper, in or around May 1848. It was not Gondal, so it was unsuitable for transcription into that notebook, and it remained unfinished, so it was not transcribed into the EJB book. He suggests, and admits that this is conjecture, that Charlotte found the scrap and completed the poem after Emily's death – thereby resulting in a compound authorship.[60]

Janet Gezari challenges Chitham's claims for Emily's authorship. The first challenge is in her collected edition of Emily's poems, and the second in her critical work *Last Things: Emily Brontë's Poems*. She does however admit that the only true proof of authorship of the poem would be the discovery of a holograph unquestionably written by Emily Brontë.[61]

Gezari suggests that Charlotte wrote 'Often rebuked' between 1 November 1849, after she had read the first review of *Shirley*, and September 1850 when she was corresponding with George Smith and William Smith Williams about the publication of the 1850 edition. I argue that she wrote it when she began to compile material for the 1850 edition.

One of Gezari's most convincing arguments for Charlotte's authorship of this poem is in her comparison of the language of the poem with the vocabulary used by Emily Brontë. She finds that 'traces', 'heroic' and 'high' (used as an adjective), can be found in Charlotte's work, but not in Emily's. She also finds that Charlotte uses the word 'vexes' where Emily does not.[62] A concise summary of her view is given in the essay that she wrote for *The Brontës in Context* in 2012:

> Charlotte's best poems, 'The Visionary' and 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning', were written after Emily's death but under her tutelage.[63]

My own view is that Charlotte is the author of 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning', and that a reading of the poem in the context of the 1850 edition gives clues both to its authorship and to its purpose. Contextually, this edition was constructed by Charlotte following varied reviews of *Wuthering Heights* and her own extreme anguish after Emily's death. She wished to 'wipe the dust' from Emily's gravestone, to set the record straight for posterity. And, as Dinah Birch said,

---

[60] Edward Chitham, 'Further Thoughts on Aspects of Emily Brontë's Poems', *BS*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2017, pp.91-99.
[61] Gezari (2007), p.140.
[62] Gezari (2007), p.145.
[63] Gezari (2012), pp.134-142 (p.139).

Charlotte was a writer not a scholar.[64] So for her, writing creatively was the most effective tool at her disposal.

'Often rebuked' was the penultimate poem of the 1850 Emily sequence, succeeded only by 'No coward soul is mine', the poem which Charlotte wrongly described as '[…] the last lines my sister Emily ever wrote.'[65]

I have described how the first poems in the sequence, intended to illustrate a point in Emily's character, represent her as an unwilling and homesick schoolgirl. The first verse of 'Often rebuked' supports this description, saying:

> Often rebuked, yet always back returning
> To those first feelings that were born with me,
> And leaving busy chase of wealth and learning
> For idle dreams of things which cannot be:[66]

Here she apparently leaves the 'chase' of learning for her dreams of home (Gondal has been carefully edited out of 'A little while', the first poem in the sequence). In this stanza these dreams are described as 'idle', an adjective which does not sit easily with the central importance of the imagination in the EJB poems.

The second stanza describes 'the shadowy region':

> To-day, I will not seek the shadowy region,
> Its unsustaining vastness waxes drear;
> And visions rising, legion after legion,
> Bring the unreal world too strangely near.[67]

This is reminiscent of the phraseology that Charlotte used in her explanatory note to 'Shall Earth no more inspire thee,' the fourth poem in the sequence. The 'genius of a solitary region' is addressing 'his wandering and wayward votary', a conversation which is referred to again in the note preceding the following poem. Charlotte's explanations of 'Shall Earth no more inspire thee,' 'In summer's mellow midnight,' and 'Ay – there it is!' are referred to in this stanza. Again, Emily never describes herself as afraid of the closeness of the world of the imagination, in fact in 'When weary with the long day's care' ('To Imagination', EJB 25) she positively embraces that world.

Following the first six poems in the sequence are 'Love is like the wild rose-briar' and then eight poems from the Gondal notebook. The third stanza refers to the histories and dramas of Gondal:

---

[64] Birch (2011), p.411.
[65] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.489.
[66] C. Brontë, ed. (1850).
[67] Ibid.

I'll walk, but not in old heroic traces,
And not in paths of high morality,
And not among the half-distinguished faces,
The clouded forms of long-past history.[68]

This represents the point in the sequence at which 'Often rebuked' occurs. The poem so far has summarised in stanzas, what Charlotte perceived as the elements that went into making up Emily's persona. She was not a willing pupil, she loved her home, she had abstract dreams and visions, and she spent much time in writing Gondal histories. But these were not the aspects of Emily by which Charlotte intended that she should be defined. She should be perceived as a home-loving child of nature as Charlotte had described her in her Preface to *Wuthering Heights*. For Charlotte's purpose, Emily needed to be seen as intimately related to her natural surroundings. She should be presented as so closely connected to the wild moorland landscape, that her creation of *Wuthering Heights*, and her designation of: '[…] a Salvator Rosa with [his] pen'[69] could be understood. This was a connection underlined by the inclusion in the 1850 edition of the *Atlas* and the *Britannia* reviews. Both of which liken Ellis Bell to Salvator Rosa. The following stanza is intended to emphasize this:

I'll walk where my own nature would be leading:
It vexes me to choose another guide:
Where the grey flocks in ferny glens are feeding;
Where the wild wind blows on the mountain side.[70]

Next, this picture of Emily needed to be synthesized with the strong statement of 'No coward soul is mine', into which Charlotte had added religious terminology. Charlotte's Emily was able, as a child of nature, to create the wild world of *Wuthering Heights*. But ultimately she was a religious being, in whom both of these facets were able to exist in some sort of harmony. The final verse of 'Often rebuked' describes the passage from child of nature to religious awareness, and acts as a preface to the version of 'No coward soul is mine' that appears in the 1850 edition:

What have those lonely mountains worth revealing?
More glory and more grief than I can tell:
The earth that wakes *one* human heart to feeling
Can centre both the worlds of Heaven and Hell.[71]

[68] Ibid.
[69] *Britannia*, 15 January 1848, pp.42-43.
[70] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.489.
[71] C. Brontë, ed. (1850).

The word picture of Emily that Charlotte has created here, is effectively concluded by introducing the following poem, 'No coward soul is mine', with the words, 'The following are the last lines my sister Emily ever wrote.'[72]

Charlotte's composition of 'Often rebuked' was integral to her construction of the 'Poems, by Ellis Bell' section of the 1850 edition. The order of the poems, together with Charlotte's explanations, supports the structure of 'Often rebuked'. Equally, the poem, stanza by stanza, explains the Emily depicted here by Charlotte. Creatively, the most effective aspect of this composition is that Charlotte used Emily's 'own' words; a device that as evidenced by the ongoing debate, has retained its power.

'Shirley-As-Emily' and the 'Emily Brontë Lexicon'

Charlotte's presentation of the 1850 edition did not comprise the full extent of the influence that she has had on critical perceptions of Emily's work. In the years between Emily's death in December 1848 and her own in March 1855, Charlotte wrote a further two novels: *Shirley*, which was begun early in 1848 and published in October 1849,[73] and *Villette*, which was published on 28 January 1853.[74] Elizabeth Gaskell's biography of Charlotte, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, was published in March 1857, and in it Gaskell, who had been a friend and correspondent of Charlotte's since 1849[75] said that the character of Shirley Keeldar, the eponymous heroine of *Shirley*, 'is Charlotte's representation of Emily.' She said that Charlotte: 'tried to depict her character in Shirley Keeldar, as what Emily Brontë would have been, had she been placed in health and prosperity.'[76]

Whether Charlotte really did intend that Shirley Keeldar should represent Emily as she might have been in more congenial circumstances is less important to the present discussion than the fact that Elizabeth Gaskell announced the intention to the world. Whatever the veracity of Gaskell's suggestion, once the claim had been made it remained a possibility, and one that future critics and readers would always be aware of, whether they agreed overtly or not. As Thomas de Quincey said in 1821, in *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*:

> […] there is no such thing as *forgetting* possible to the mind; a thousand accidents may, and will interpose a veil between our present consciousness and the secret inscriptions on the mind; accidents of the same sort will also

[72]Ibid.
[73] Christine Alexander and Margaret Smith, ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.463.
[74] Alexander and Smith, ed. (2006), p.524.
[75] Charlotte Brontë sent a copy of *Shirley* to Gaskell, as 'the author of *Mary Barton*', an act which marked the beginning of their friendship. Margaret Smith, ed. (2000), p.xliii.
[76] Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.315.

> rend away this veil; but alike, whether veiled or unveiled, the inscription remains forever.[77]

And so, the possibility that Shirley Keeldar represented Emily Brontë became an unforgettable, if sometimes subconscious, possibility to any reader or critic who had read *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*.

Patsy Stoneman, in *Brontë Studies*, suggests that Charlotte wrote Emily into the character of Shirley as an elegy to her sister.[78] She makes a convincing argument. But again, what is more important than Charlotte's intention, is the effect that perceptions of 'Shirley-as-Emily' have had on readings of Emily's work, and particularly on interpretations of her poetry. Charlotte created the character of 'Shirley-as-Emily', and Elizabeth Gaskell announced her intention to do so to the world. By doing this Charlotte has succeeded in embedding an 'Emily Brontë lexicon' into the critical field, which, although not used by all critics, continues to affect both the reading of the poems, and perceptions of Emily as a writer.

The first indication of the 'Emily Brontë lexicon' occurs in chapter seven of volume two of *Shirley*. Shirley Keeldar and Caroline Helstone are on their way to an evening church service. But when they arrive in the church-yard, Shirley expresses reluctance to enter. She wants to remain outside watching the day's end which she describes as 'Nature […] at her evening prayers.'[79] In the ensuing conversation between Shirley and Caroline, Shirley says that the first men on earth were Titans, and that on the hill she sees:

> [a] woman-Titan: her robe of blue air spreads to the outskirts of the heath, where yonder flock is grazing; a veil white as an avalanche sweeps from her head to her feet, and arabesques of lightning flame on its borders. […] So kneeling, face to face she speaks with God. That Eve is Jehovah's daughter, as Adam was his son.[80]

Caroline calls the description 'vague and visionary', but Shirley responds: 'I will stay out here with my mother Eve, in these days called Nature. I love her – undying mighty being!'[81] Charlotte describes this mother as 'the mighty and mystical parent of Shirley's visions'.[82]

---

[77] Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater and Other Writings* (London: Penguin, 2003), p.76.
[78] Patsy Stoneman, 'Shirley as Elegy', *Brontë Studies (BS)*, Vol. 40, no. 1, January 2015, pp.22-33.
[79] Charlotte Brontë, *Shirley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p.319.
[80] C. Brontë (1979), p.321.
[81] Ibid.
[82] There is further emphasis on the mystical aspect of Shirley's character in chapter three of volume three in which Shirley, discussing her feelings, refers to, 'an amulet, of whose mystic glitter I rarely permit even myself a glimpse.' (p.453).

It is in connection with this passage that Gaskell again intervenes, showing that Charlotte's presentation of 'Shirley-as-Emily' had begun to be accepted by 1857. In her description of Emily in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Gaskell says: 'Emily must have been a remnant of the Titans, - great-grand-daughter of the giants who used to inhabit the earth.'[83] Her reiteration of the phraseology from *Shirley* in connection with Emily not only shows the effectiveness of Charlotte's description in linking the fictional and the real characters, but it also serves to embed the use of the word with reference to Emily.

The effect of this connection becomes apparent immediately after the publication of *The Life*. John Skelton, reviewing *The Life* in *Fraser's Magazine* of May 1857 took the opportunity to revisit some of the earlier works of the sisters.[84] In his discussion of *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell*, he judges Emily's contributions to it as the finest and the most imaginative. But he then goes on to say, when referring to *Wuthering Heights*:

> Emily Brontë – the finer, we are afraid we must say the ideal, side of whose character is sketched in *Shirley* – is, I think, the most powerful of the Brontë family. […] Emily is a Titan.[85]

Following this he describes Emily in the words used by Charlotte in her 'Biographical Notice' and her 'Preface to *Wuthering Heights*. This is evidence that even at this early stage the character of 'Shirley-as-Emily' was becoming established in the critical, and therefore in the public, mind.

The passage describing 'the mighty and mystical parent' is the first indication in *Shirley*, that Charlotte had made herself familiar with Emily's poems, and not only those that had already been published in 1846.[86] Close parallels can be drawn between the mother whom Shirley calls 'Nature' and Emily Brontë's description of Earth in 'I see around me tombstones grey' (EJB 19) in which she says:

> No – Earth would wish no other sphere
> To taste her cup of sufferings drear;
> She turns from Heaven a careless eye
> And only mourns that <u>we</u> must die!
> Ah mother, what shall comfort thee
> In all this boundless misery?[87]

---

[83] Gaskell (1996), p.440.
[84] John Skelton, 'Charlotte Brontë', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, May 1857, pp.569-582.
[85] Skelton (1857), p.574.
[86] It should be noted here that *Shirley* was written before Charlotte compiled her collection of Emily's poems for the 1850 edition.
[87] Emily Brontë, 17 July 1841.

The final lines of the poem link to Shirley's description of the 'undying mighty being':

> We would not leave our native home
> For any world beyond the Tomb
> No – rather on thy kindly breast
> Let us be laid in lasting rest
> Or waken but to share with thee
> A mutual immortality -[88]

This scene, between Caroline and Shirley, is the first to introduce terminology that we will see applied to Emily Brontë as a writer during the years after the public were made aware of the intended links between Shirley and Emily. But it is later in the novel that Charlotte makes more overt use of Emily's poetry. In chapter four of volume three, entitled 'The First Blue-Stocking',[89] Louis Moore, Shirley's former tutor, recites by heart an essay that she had written for him previously.

The essay describes a small, orphaned female child living 'in the dawn of time.' The child, who is represented as untaught and unspoilt, has been abandoned by her tribe and finds her own living in the wild. One evening the child climbs out of her valley to watch the end of day and the beginning of night; and in doing so she becomes aware of herself as the centre of the whole world. She knows that she is a divine spark and is possessed of a 'God-given strength.' She calls out for, 'Guidance – help – comfort', and is answered by a voice that speaks out of silence. This is the voice of a 'son of God' with whom she then communes, and who, 'gathered her in like a lamb to the fold.' The experience is described as, 'the bridal hour of Genius and Humanity.'[90]

The significance of Charlotte's composition of this essay lies in her use of Emily's poetry. She takes ideas, words, and phrases from the poems, but she employs them differently. The piece is composed to a great extent from Emily's poetry, but the context, interpretation, and conclusions, are Charlotte's.

The initial desire of the child to see the transition of day into night can be traced to two poems in the EJB notebook. 'Fair sinks the summer evening now' (EJB 5) and 'Shall Earth no more inspire thee,' (EJB 6), which both describe this event. In the two poems it is apparent that this is an important spectacle for the poet. In EJB 6 the voice of the Earth speaks to the protagonist:

> When day with evening blending
> Sinks from the summer sky,

[88] E. Brontë (1841).
[89] C. Brontë (1979), pp.471-495.
[90] Ibid., pp.485-490.

I've seen thy spirit bending
In fond idolatry -[91]

I have already shown that Charlotte used the same setting for Shirley's soliloquy about her mother, 'Nature' in the earlier chapter.

After the initial setting of the scene the essay begins to describe the girl's experience, and to interpret it. It is here that Charlotte begins to draw heavily on Emily's poetry:

> The girl sat, her body still, her soul astir; occupied, however, rather in feeling than in thinking, in wishing than hoping, in imagining than projecting. She felt the world, the sky, the night, boundlessly mighty. Of all things she herself seemed to herself the centre – a small, forgotten atom of life, a spark of soul, emitted inadvertent from the great creative source, and now burning unmarked to waste in the heart of a black hollow. She asked, was she thus to burn out and perish, her living light doing no good, […] Could this be, she demanded, when the flame of her intelligence burned so vivid; when her life beat so true, and real, and potent; when something within her stirred disquieted, and restlessly asserted a God-given strength, for which it insisted she find exercise.[92]

This section contains several ideas and images from Emily's poems, but with significant differences.

In 'Ah! Why, because the dazzling sun' (EJB 28), Emily says, 'Thought followed thought – star followed star | Through boundless regions on'.[93] Charlotte also takes the image of the boundlessness of the night sky; but the capacity to think is removed from her protagonist. The girl can only feel. This is an important distinction. There is an ongoing dialectic between thinking and feeling in the poems of the EJB notebook. Both are important to the poet, but there is a distinct movement from feeling towards thinking as the poems progress and the imagination gains power and recognition. It is significant that Charlotte also erased the importance of thought from 'Aye there it is!' (EJB 9), one of the poems that she revised heavily in 1850. Emily had written the first verse as:

Aye there it is! It wakes to night
Sweet thoughts that will not die
And feeling's fires flash all as bright
As in the years gone by! -–[94]

Charlotte revised it to:

---

[91] Emily Brontë, 16 May 1841.
[92] C. Brontë (1979), pp.487-488.
[93] Emily Brontë, 'Ah! why, because the dazzling sun', 14 April 1845.
[94] Emily Brontë, 'Aye there it is! It wakes tonight', 6 July 1845.

Ay – there it is! It wakes to-night
Deep feelings I thought dead;
Strong in the blast – quick gathering light –
The heart's flame kindles red.[95]

Charlotte's changes raise the importance of feeling and emotion above that of thought and the intellect.

The 'small, forgotten atom of life, a spark of soul, emitted inadvertent from the great creative source', shares its imagery with at least two of Emily's poems. In 'My Comforter' (EJB 22), she describes the light that is hidden within her soul: 'Deep down – concealed within my soul | That light lies hid from men',[96] and in 'No coward soul is mine' (EJB 31), the light has become a 'God within my breast'.[97] In the same poem the atom of life occurs: 'There is not room for Death | Nor atom that his might could render void'.

In the ensuing part of the essay the composition moves even closer to Emily's poems. Unable to understand her experience the child calls out, 'Guidance – help – comfort – come!' But no voice answers. Finally, there is a response:

At last one overstretched chord of her agony slacked; she thought Something above relented; she felt as if Something far round drew nigher; she heard as if Silence spoke. There was no language, no word, only a tone.
Again – a fine, full, lofty tone, a deep, soft sound, like a storm whispering, made twilight undulate.[98]

This passage recalls the calming influence of something that comes in silence in Emily Brontë's 'The Prisoner – A Fragment', published in the 1846 edition, and transcribed in its original version, 'Silent is the House', in the Gondal notebook:

But, first, a hush of peace – a soundless calm descends;
The struggle of distress, and fierce impatience ends.
Mute music soothes my breast, unuttered harmony,
That I could never dream, till Earth was lost to me.[99]

In the essay the child enters into conversation with what is now 'a distinct voice'. The voice calls her by name [Eva] and she addresses it as 'Night'. At this point the essay takes on a religious vocabulary:

The voice descending reached Earth.

[95] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), pp.480-481.
[96] E. Brontë, 'Well hast thou spoken - and yet not taught (My Comforter), 10 February 1844.
[97] E. Brontë, 'No coward soul is mine', 2 January 1846.
[98] C. Brontë (1979), p.488.
[99] Emily Brontë, 'The Prisoner – A Fragment', *in* C., E., and A. Brontë (1846).

‘Eva!’
‘Lord,’ she cried, ‘behold thine handmaid!’
She had her religion – all tribes held some creed.
‘I come – a Comforter!’
‘Lord, come quickly!’[100]

It is the use of the word ‘Comforter’ that is of most significance here. ‘My Comforter’ (EJB 22) is the only poem of the EJB notebook headed by a title unquestionably in Emily Brontë’s handwriting.[101] But there is no indication in the poem that the Comforter of the title has any religious origins. Here, Charlotte Brontë has taken the poem which is the crux of the EJB notebook, the poem written in the month of transcription, and has linked it to an overtly religious theme. ‘My Comforter’ was thus entitled in the 1846 edition, and the deployment of the name here, with its capital letter, is almost certainly an attempt by Charlotte to impose her own interpretation on the poem, and to make that interpretation manifest.

Following this communication between the characters, there is a description of an ecstatic communion between the two:

‘Lean towards me, Eva. Enter my arms; repose thus.’
‘Thus I lean, O Invisible but felt! And what art thou?’[102]

The origins of this exchange can again be seen in ‘The Prisoner – A Fragment’. The ‘Fragment’ of the title is taken from a much longer Gondal poem, ‘Silent is the House – all are laid asleep;’ also entitled ‘Julian M. and A.G. Rochelle’.[103] The context of the longer poem is much clearer than that of the ‘Fragment’. In it, a prisoner is describing to her captor (who is also an old childhood friend), her way of imagining herself out of captivity:

‘Then dawns the Invisible; the Unseen its truth reveals;
My outward sense is gone, my inward essence feels:
Its wings are almost free – its home, its harbour found,
Measuring the gulf, it stoops, and dares the final bound.[104]

Here is the ‘Invisible’, and the inner feeling. Charlotte’s child asks, ‘what art thou?’ Emily’s ‘Unseen’ reveals its truth. And again, there is a difference in interpretation. It

[100] C. Brontë (1979), p.488.
[101] Other poems in the notebook have titles that are almost certainly in Emily’s writing, but all the others are faint, as if pencilled. ‘My Comforter’ has been added firmly in ink, in keeping with the style of the rest of the poem.
[102] C. Brontë (1979), p.488.
[103] E. Brontë, ‘Silent is the House – all are laid asleep;’ 9 October 1845.
[104] E. Brontë, 9 October 1845.

is apparent in Emily's poem that the invisible and unseen is the 'inward essence'. It is daring the 'final bound' towards death and thence liberty; but it is unsuccessful:

> 'Oh, dreadful is the check – intense the agony –
> When the ear begins to hear, and the eye begins to see;
> When the pulse begins to throb, the brain to think again,
> The soul to feel the flesh, and the flesh to feel the chain.'[105]

In Charlotte's essay the 'Presence' describes itself as 'a Son of God' who, using the same language of imprisonment, frees the child:

> "All change, and for ever. I take from thy vision, darkness: I loosen from thy faculties, fetters: I level in thy path, obstacles: I, with my presence, fill vacancy: I claim as mine the lost atom of life: I take to myself the spark of soul – burning, heretofore, forgotten!"[106]

This passage not only connects to the captivity theme of 'The Prisoner', but it also returns to the images of 'My Comforter' and 'No coward soul is mine'. Here again, Charlotte is employing Emily's imagery, but reinterpreting and redefining it for her own purpose.

In September 1843, when she was alone in Brussels, Charlotte wrote to Emily telling her that she had been taken by a sudden desire to attend confession in the Cathedral. She called it 'an odd whim', but obviously felt the desire to confess so strongly that when the priest told her she should not confess because she was not a Catholic, she: 'was determined to confess' and said that she: '[…] actually did confess – a real confession.'[107] She does not mention the subject of her confession in her letter, but the most important aspect of this event to this discussion, is the idea that Charlotte could be troubled by her conscience to such an extent that she felt confession would ease her mind.

There is a suggestion in a letter that she wrote to Elizabeth Gaskell in 1853, that Charlotte was once again driven by that 'odd whim' to confess. She asks a rhetorical question which does not mention anyone by name, but which hints at a certain personal unease or disquiet:

> A thought occurs to me. Do you – who have so many friends, so large a circle of acquaintance – find it easy, when you sit down to write – to isolate yourself from all those ties and their sweet associations – as to be quite <u>your own woman</u> – uninfluenced, unswayed by the consciousness of how your work may affect other minds – what blame, what sympathy it may call forth?

---

[105] Ibid.
[106] C. Brontë (1979), p.489.
[107] Charlotte Brontë to Emily Jane Brontë, 2 September 1843, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë: Volume one 1829-1847*, Margaret Smith, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

> Does no luminous cloud ever come between you and the severe Truth – as you know it in your own secret and clear-seeing Soul? In a word, are you never tempted to make your characters more amiable than the life – by the inclination to assimilate your thoughts to the thoughts of those who always feel kindly, but sometimes fail to see justly? Don't answer the question. It is not intended to be answered.[108]

Charlotte said that this question should not be answered, and there is as yet, no evidence in her correspondence that Gaskell did respond to it. But the question itself merits further scrutiny and there are two possible interpretations. It could be that she is considering whether she ought to write in a way that would increase the approbation of her readers, but Charlotte uses certain phrases that sit oddly with the concept of fictional writing. She asks if a cloud ever comes between Gaskell and the: 'severe Truth – as you know it in your own secret and clear-seeing Soul?' But it could be asked whether it is necessary to adhere to the truth in fiction, and if so, what is the origin of that truth? She asks whether Gaskell is ever tempted to make her characters: 'more amiable than the life'? But again, this implies a life model for the characters and suggests that they are not purely fictional. Finally, she asks whether Gaskell is ever inclined to assimilate her thoughts to: 'the thoughts of those who always feel kindly, but sometimes fail to see justly?' An understanding of her meaning here must rely on the interpretation of the action of assimilation of thoughts. She may mean assimilation with the thoughts of the reader, but certainly, there is a suggestion that the assimilation is between Charlotte, and one with whom she is not in complete agreement. In fact, one who she wishes to make appear more amiable by assimilating and then reinterpreting their thoughts. That Emily would fit into this scenario is evidenced by a letter that Charlotte wrote to William Smith Williams in February 1848. She said:

> In some points I consider Ellis somewhat of a theorist: now and then he broaches ideas which strike my sense as much more daring and original than practical; his reason may be in advance of mine, but certainly it often travels a different road.[109]

It is likely that by assimilating her thoughts with Emily's, and then reinterpreting them for her readers, Charlotte intended that for posterity those roads would converge. The letter to Elizabeth Gaskell was written after the publication of both *Shirley* and *Villette*, so although we cannot know for certain which of her creations Charlotte had in mind when she wrote it, that she was thinking of 'Shirley-as-Emily' seems feasible.

---

[108]Charlotte Brontë to Elizabeth Gaskell, 9 July 1853, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë,* Vol. Three, 1852-1855, Margaret Smith, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.182.
[109]Charlotte Brontë to William Smith Williams, 25 February 1848, Smith, ed. (2000), p.29-30.

Charlotte had said that 'an interpreter ought always to have stood between her [Emily] and the world';[110] and certainly her various interventions have been viewed as attempts at interpretation. Lucasta Miller discusses Charlotte's interpretations in *The Brontë Myth*. She calls Charlotte 'Emily's first mythographer,'[111] although she did not recognise the extent to which Charlotte used Emily's poems in *Shirley*. I would argue that Charlotte has reinterpreted Emily rather than interpreted her. Interpretation implies making something more readily understood without changing the meaning; but reinterpretation moves further away from the original work, which is then seen through another's eyes. This is what has happened through Charlotte's interventions into Emily's poetry. She was not just interpreting the work as it stood, but she was changing and adding to it, so that the original meanings of Emily's poems became lost through Charlotte's reinterpretations.

One of the most influential reinterpretations links the visionary mysticism of the Shirley character with the revisions that Charlotte made to the poems of 1850. I have shown that in 'The First Blue-Stocking' Charlotte uses imagery from the poem which had appeared as both 'Silent is the House' and 'The Prisoner – A Fragment'. A part of this poem appears again in 1850, entitled 'The Visionary' by Charlotte, and containing the additional verses quoted on page 16. The 'Strange Power' of this poem is far more like the 'Presence, invisible, but mighty,'[112] of Shirley's essay than it is like anything that appears in any of the poems that Emily wrote without Charlotte's help. It is mysterious, 'strange', external, and unlike the imagination of Emily's own poems. As such it provides a link between Charlotte's reinterpretations as they were at the end of 1850, and the development of Emily Brontë criticism from that time onwards.

Charlotte's 'Emily Lexicon'

It was 'The Visionary', together with the public conception of 'Shirley–as–Emily', the biographical details, and the poem 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning', that led to the birth of the 'Emily Brontë lexicon'. These literary events, all of which had their genesis with Charlotte; introduced words and phrases into Emily Brontë scholarship and criticism that are still affecting the reading and understanding of her work today.

Janet Gezari suggests that 'The Visionary' and 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning' are:

[110] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.xv.
[111] Miller (2001), p.174.
[112] C. Brontë (1979), p.489.

> […] the most important source for the familiar compound ghost who appears in place of the more elusive ghost of Emily Brontë herself in most discussions of her life and poems.[113]

The compound ghost referred to here is what Gezari calls, 'the composite picture' of Emily and Charlotte created by Charlotte's reconstruction of Emily. I agree with her proposal, but following this recognition, the next and most important step is to define exactly how this picture has become subsumed into the discussions to which she refers.

I have described the methods that Charlotte employed in her reinterpretation of Emily, and it is the recurring language that she engaged in this exercise which has ensured that the picture that she painted is the one which has survived in much Emily Brontë scholarship and criticism. This is what I refer to as the 'Emily Brontë lexicon'.

The most influential words in the 'lexicon' are those which were never used by Emily in her poems, but which Charlotte introduced and which have remained an integral part of criticism ever since. Emily never used the words 'mystic', 'mystical', 'visitant', or 'visionary' in her poetry. The word 'vision' occurs in fifteen poems, five of which are from the EJB notebook, and which all refer to an aspect of the imagination. It is important to note that imaginative visions are always welcome in poetry written purely by Emily. Their value is never diminished, as it is in 'Often rebuked.'[114] There, the: '[…] visions rising, legion after legion, | Bring the unreal world too strangely near.' The visions of the 'lexicon' are external, vaguely misunderstood, or difficult to understand, and therefore untrustworthy. But those of Emily's own poems are integral, being a welcomed aspect of the imagination

Taking the words 'mystic', 'mystical', 'visionary', and 'visitant', together with other adjectives applied to the character of Shirley Keeldar, and biographical details of Emily given by Charlotte, as the core of the 'Emily Brontë lexicon', it is possible to see how Charlotte's reinterpretation entered into and remained a part of criticism through the years. In the following discussion I refer to criticism that has been influenced in this way as 'lexicon' criticism, and to that which has largely avoided Charlotte's influence as 'non-lexicon' criticism.

The Beginnings of 'Lexicon' Criticism

The very beginning of 'lexicon' criticism was apparent in John Skelton's 1857 review of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. This marked the start of the integration of Janet

[113] Gezari (2007), p.129.
[114] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.489.

Gezari's 'compound ghost' into Emily Brontë criticism, and specifically the public acceptance of the character of 'Shirley-as-Emily'. In the previous month, however, G.H. Lewes had written a personal and congratulatory letter to Elizabeth Gaskell, in which he said:

> Emily has a singular fascination for me – probably because I have a passion for lions and savage animals, and she was *une bête fauve* in power, splendour, and wildness. What an episode that death of hers![115]

Here, Lewes employed the 'lexicon' by quoting a description given of Shirley Keeldar by her former tutor Louis Moore. Moore had said of his dealings with Shirley: 'In managing the wild instincts of the scarce manageable "bête fauve" my powers would revel.'[116] Lewes' acceptance as a depiction of Emily, of a description that had been applied to Shirley, was in a private letter. It was not a part of public criticism; but the fact that it was written at all, underlines the ease with which the 'lexicon' could, and would, become a part of the general perception of Emily Brontë.

Agnes Mary F. Robinson, who was a poet in her own right, published the first biography of Emily Brontë in 1883.[117] She includes a chapter on *Shirley* in which she suggests that in Charlotte's representation of 'Shirley-as-Emily': 'We recognise Charlotte's sister; but not the author of "Wuthering Heights".'[118] This is perceptive, differentiating as it does between the picture that Charlotte wished to paint, and the evidence of the work left by Emily. Robinson, it seems, did not intend to be influenced by the 'Emily lexicon'. But her reference to 'Shirley-as-Emily', in the very first biography of Emily Brontë serves again to establish the connection in the public mind.

So far, the effect of the 'lexicon' on perceptions of Emily had been in establishing her suggested personality. In the latter part of the nineteenth-century, and the first decade of the twentieth, there were many references to Emily envisaged through the medium of Shirley, or as described by Charlotte in her Biographical Notice and Preface. But in 1911 the 'lexicon' began to affect what could be perceived as intellectual or spiritual interpretations of Emily. Until that time the only person to use the word 'mystic' with reference to Emily had been Charlotte; albeit indirectly, in her description of Shirley Keeldar.

---

[115] G.H. Lewes to Elizabeth Gaskell, 15 April 1857, Miriam Allott, ed., *The Brontës: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), pp.329-330.
[116] C. Brontë (1979), p.525.
[117] A. Mary F. Robinson, *Emily Brontë* (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1883), Eminent Women Series, John H. Ingram, ed.
[118] Robinson (1883), p.210.

The first direct reference to Emily as a mystic appeared in May Sinclair's 1911 biography, *The Three Brontës*. She said of Emily:

> She had none of the proud appearances of the metaphysical mind; she did not, so far as we know, devour, like George Eliot, whole systems of philosophy in her early youth. Her passionate pantheism was not derived; it was established in her own soul. She was a mystic, not by religious vocation, but by temperament and by ultimate vision.[119]

Not only does the word 'mystic' owe its origins to 'Shirley-as-Emily', but the temperament that Sinclair cites as evidence of the mysticism also derives from Charlotte. It emerges from descriptions of Shirley's temperament, scenes from Gaskell's *Life*, and from the Biographical Notice and Preface. Beyond these, all of which have their origin with Charlotte, and some references in letters, also written by Charlotte, very little is known of Emily's temperament. Certainly not enough to cite it as evidence of her mysticism.

May Sinclair's introduction of the term 'mystic' into Emily Brontë criticism is also noted by Lucasta Miller; who, in examining this, also differentiated between the cultural and intellectual criticism of Emily (the 'non-lexicon'), as opposed to the mythological (or 'lexicon') perspective. She says: 'As the word "mystic" became the standard epithet applied to Emily, its meaning grew less and less clear.'[120] She suggests that there was a change in understanding of the term 'mystic' from Carlyle's use of the word in his essay on Novalis in 1829, to the early twentieth-century when the term began to be applied to Emily Brontë. However, Carlyle actually understood more than one definition of the word. One of these, 'only a man whom we do not understand',[121] differed from his more specific description of Novalis' apparent mysticism. This is potentially the definition that could be more readily ascribed to twentieth-century descriptions of Emily's mysticism. I propose that by introducing the word 'mystic' into the 'lexicon', Charlotte has handed a shortcut to certain critics; a means of interpretation which can be used without diligent application to the poems, their context, and their sequence. It can, in effect, be perceived as a means to disguise a lack of understanding or diligent research.

Two years after Sinclair's description of Emily as a mystic, Caroline Spurgeon published her book *Mysticism in English Literature* (1913) in which she classified Emily Brontë as a 'Philosophical Mystic'.[122] Spurgeon begins by saying:

---

[119] May Sinclair, *The Three Brontës* (London: Hutchinson, 1911), p.169.
[120] Miller (2001), p.230.
[121] Thomas Carlyle, 'Novalis', *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899), p.22.
[122] Caroline Spurgeon, *Mysticism in English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913).

> Mysticism is a term so irresponsibly applied in English that it has become the first duty of those who use it to explain what they mean by it.[123]

She then cites the definition that appeared in the *Oxford Concise Dictionary* of 1911: 'one who believes in spiritual apprehension of truths beyond understanding.'[124] This definition ought to exclude Emily from the category of mystic, as, when her poems are read in the order of transcription, she clearly understands the story that she is telling, and the philosophy that she is propounding through them. In fact, given that Spurgeon goes on to describe mysticism as 'a temper rather than a doctrine, an atmosphere rather than a system of philosophy',[125] it seems contradictory to describe Emily as a philosophical mystic. Spurgeon's definition of philosophical mysticism continues: '[…] those writers who present their convictions in a philosophical form calculated to appeal to the intellect as well as to the emotions.'[126] Yet this is confused reasoning. If the 'mystic' is able to intellectualise their beliefs then surely those beliefs must be underlain by a conceptual, rather than by an atmospheric process.

Spurgeon's stated reasons for describing Emily Brontë as a mystic have their roots in the unlearned, inexperienced Emily of Charlotte's Biographical Notice; and are illustrated by four poems: 'The Prisoner', 'The Visionary', 'No Coward Soul is mine', and 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning.' Of these poems, only one, 'The Prisoner', which was printed in 1846, was certainly unrevised by Charlotte.

By the time of Davidson Cook's 1926 discovery of Charlotte's extreme revisions to Emily's poetry, the perception of her as a mystic had become thoroughly embedded. The result of this was that the discovery of the inaccuracy of many of the known poems made little difference to critical interpretations of her work. Particularly as it was mainly the revised poems, or those of doubtful authorship, which were used to illustrate the designation.

In 1948, Mildred Dobson published an article in *Brontë Society Transactions* in which she supported her description of Emily as a 'nature mystic' by quoting from 'The Visionary' and from the verses that Charlotte had added to 'Aye – there it is! It wakes tonight'.[127] Dobson wrote her essay twenty-two years after Davidson Cook's revelation about the authorship of these lines, so the fact that she has used them as supporting evidence for Emily Brontë's mysticism casts doubt on her argument. In

[123] Spurgeon (1913), p.1.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., p.2.
[126] Ibid., p.72.
[127] Mildred Dobson, 'Was Emily Brontë a Mystic?' *BST*, Vol. 11, Issue 3, January 1984, pp.166-175.

fact, it supports the proposal that Emily's perceived mysticism had its genesis in the 'lexicon'; and gained its support from Charlotte's revisions to the poetry.

Rosalind Miles writing in 1976 utilises two more words from the 'lexicon': visionary and visitant. These words do not occur in Emily's own poetry, but both are used by Charlotte in 'The Visionary'. In that poem 'The Visionary' says: 'What I love shall come like visitant of air, | Safe in secret power from lurking human snare;'.[128] Miles groups together poems which she describes as 'the "mystical" group of poems'.[129] These include: 'Shall Earth no more inspire thee?', 'The Night-Wind', and 'Aye, there it is!'. Significantly these are the three poems to which Charlotte added explanatory notes in 1850, and which I consider to be the ones that she felt described the 'shadowy region' of 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning.' Miles feels that in these three poems Emily Brontë is making different attempts to express versions 'of her visitant.'[130]

Margaret Homans develops the use of these words in her 1980 study of Dorothy Wordsworth, Emily Brontë, and Emily Dickinson.[131] This circumstance supports the idea that the 'Emily Brontë lexicon' is self-perpetuating. To Homans:

> Brontë is troubled by the apparent otherness of her mind's powers, which she imagines as a series of masculine visitants who bring visionary experience to her.[132]

She refers to Rosalind Mile's essay in the notes to her own essay on Emily Brontë, although not in terms of the 'visionary visitants'. But, as evidenced by the notes, she did read that essay whilst preparing her own; and as De Quincey said, '[…] there is no such thing as *forgetting* possible to the mind'.[133] It is not unreasonable to suggest that Homans' phraseology stemmed from her reading of Miles' essay; and this in turn has influenced the direction in which her perception of Emily's poetry has moved.

The 'lexicon' is handed down through critical articles, and because it has become the vocabulary most often used to describe Emily as a writer, it still encourages critics' thoughts and ideas to grow in certain directions. It is still exerting its influence on scholarship.

---

[128] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.488.
[129] Rosalind Miles, 'A Baby God: The Creative Dynamism of Emily Brontë's Poetry', Smith, ed. (1976), pp.68-93 (p.90.)
[130] Ibid., pp.89-90.
[131] Margaret Homans, 'Emily Brontë', *Women Writers and Poetic Identity: Dorothy Wordsworth, Emily Brontë, and Emily Dickinson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp.104-161.
[132] Homans (1980), p.104.
[133] De Quincey (2003), p.76.

Janet Gezari has a slightly ambiguous relationship with the 'Emily Brontë lexicon'. In her discussion of 'Ah! why, because the dazzling sun' (EJB 28) in *Last Things*, she comments that to describe Emily's 'psychological landscape' in the poem:

> […] we need the resources of a vocabulary that is not in thrall to biographical insights or too easily prepared to describe Brontë's desire for imaginative escape from the ordinary, daylight world as escapism, a turn away from 'reality' that is temperamental instead of philosophical, and cowardly instead of risky.[134]

The vocabulary that relies on 'biographical insights' is that given by Charlotte's Biographical Notice, her Preface to *Wuthering Heights*, and Gaskell's *Life*. But the second part of the statement should be examined with reference to the preceding discussion of mysticism. The desire for imaginative escape is certainly evident in Emily's poems; and if we return to the examination of Caroline Spurgeon's treatment of mysticism, mysticism is described as, 'a temper rather than a doctrine, an atmosphere rather than a system of philosophy'.[135] This is certainly very close to the vocabulary from which Gezari suggests we need to escape. In fact, Caroline Spurgeon's book is listed in Gezari's bibliography, although it is not cited in the text. Gezari finds the alternative, and to her preferable, vocabulary, in Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay 'The Poet'. In the essay Emerson describes the power of dreaming; which is a form of imagining.[136]

Based on the evidence above, I would classify Janet Gezari's criticism as 'non-lexicon', rather than otherwise. She refers, however, to Emily's mysticism in *Last Things*, and in her later essay, 'The Poetry of the Brontës' she says:

> Emily is the only one of the Brontës whose experience and its record in the poems were, from the beginning, nourished by both mysticism and Stoic philosophy.[137]

She supports this statement by defining her own interpretation of Emily's mysticism, which she describes as:

> […] both authentic and original: what she seeks and writes about in several poems is not union with a transcendent deity, but release into a state of undifferentiated being where subject and object are one, and the imagination has sovereign authority.[138]

---

[134] Gezari (2007), p.25.
[135] Spurgeon, (1913), p.2.
[136] Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'The Poet', *Essays and Poems* (London: Dent, 1995), pp.181-201.
[137] Gezari (2012), p.39.
[138] Ibid. p.139.

In *Last Things*, Gezari, like Lucasta Miller, refers to Carlyle's essay on Novalis,[139] both to define mysticism, and to suggest similarities between Emily Brontë's and Novalis' mysticism. But what is unfortunate in the use of this essay to explain Emily's apparent mysticism, is that when read in its entirety the essay actually contains more information to support her knowledge of German philosophy than it does to suggest her mysticism. Gezari herself has clearly recognised this, as in the same discussion she refers to: '[…] how close Brontë's formulation of this [mystic] experience is to the formulations of German idealist writers like Novalis'.[140]

In the light of this I question the wisdom or necessity of labelling Emily Brontë 'a mystic'. Is it not more likely that rather than being a mystic *like* Novalis, she simply read him? Or indeed, read Carlyle's essay, which was written in 1829? Of course, the Emily of the 'lexicon' could not have done this. She left behind: 'the busy chase of wealth and learning';[141] she was not learned; she did not acquire knowledge from 'the well-spring of other minds.'[142] Therefore, if she wrote in this vein then she must have been a mystic. But as Gezari herself said, 'we need the resources of a vocabulary that is not in thrall to biographical insights'[143] to describe Emily Brontë's poetry; and I would argue that the new vocabulary should also exclude any phraseology that has entered the scholarship as an indirect, as well as a direct, result of Charlotte's 'biographical insights'.

'Non-Lexicon' Criticism

One of the earliest reviews of *Wuthering Heights* suggested a similarity between Ellis Bell's work and that of 'some of those irregular German tales'.[144] But this cannot be said to mark the beginning of 'non-lexicon' criticism. All the reviews that were written before the publication of the 1850 edition must fall into the category of 'non-lexicon', because they cannot have been influenced by Charlotte Brontë. It is the reviews that post-date the publication of the 1850 edition that must inform this discussion.

So effective was Charlotte's establishment of her 'lexicon' that it is very difficult to find criticism from the latter part of the nineteenth-century that completely escapes its influence. It must be remembered that the only publicly known versions of the poems printed in 1850 were those that had been treated by Charlotte, and so

[139] Carlyle (1899).
[140] Gezari (2007), p.90.
[141] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.489.
[142] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.xv.
[143] Gezari (2007), p.25.
[144] *Britannia* (1848), pp.42-43.

in that respect readers and writers of that time were inescapably influenced by her revisions.

Algernon Swinburne's *Athenæum* article of June 1883, while illustrating the difficulty of separating the two types of criticism, shows that there were writers who even then, were aware of the picture of Emily Brontë that was insidiously creeping into the critical field and who attempted to avoid it. Swinburne's article is a review of A. Mary F. Robinson's biography *Emily Brontë*, and it is apparent that he was familiar with the labels that were by then being applied to Emily. He refers to: 'The stale and futile epithet of Titaness', [145] and also makes reference to: '[…] her goddess mother'.[146] But it is when he responds to Robinson's suggestion of incoherence or a lack of logic in some of Emily's poems that he truly diverges from the 'lexicon'. He says:

> […] any seeming confusion or incoherence in her work is merely external and accidental, not inward and spiritual. Belief in the personal or positive immortality of the individual and indivisible spirit was not apparently, in her case, swallowed up or nullified or made nebulous by any doctrine or dream of simple reabsorption into some indefinite infinity of eternal life. So at least it seems to me that her last ardent confession of dauntless and triumphant faith should properly be read, however capable certain phrases in it may seem of the vaguer and more impersonal interpretation.[147]

At the time of Swinburne's article May Sinclair had not yet applied the term 'mystic' to Emily. But it certainly seems that, on the strength of this statement, had mysticism been suggested Swinburne would not have agreed. He based his criticism on his own interpretation of Emily's work, rather than on the 'vaguer [..] interpretation' that entered the critical field soon afterwards.

Angus Mackay's 1898 piece, written for *The Westminster Review*, effectively illustrates the difficulty of differentiating between 'lexicon' and 'non-lexicon' criticism in the wake of Charlotte's interventions. Like Swinburne, he addresses Robinson's charge of obscurity, but he veers towards the 'lexicon' by suggesting that most of the obscurity of the poems vanishes when those that were given explanatory notes by Charlotte are read in the light of those notes.[148]

It is apparent from his description of Emily's early life, that Mackay was influenced by Charlotte's Biographical Notice. But it is also apparent that his reading of many of the poems was individual and did not rely on the interpretations given by

---

[145] Algernon Charles Swinburne, 'Emily Brontë', *The Athenæum*, 2903, 16 June 1883, pp.762-763.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid., p.763.
[148] Angus Mackay, 'On the Interpretation of Emily Brontë', *Westminster Review*, August 1898, pp.203-218 (p.205).

Charlotte in *Shirley*. Mackay was the first critic to recognise the importance of the imagination in Emily's work. He said:

> Nature, indeed, shared with Imagination the empire of Emily's heart, but still it held an inferior dominion, and it need not be alluded to further here except so far as it serves to illustrate the master-influence of Emily's powerful mind.
>
> The master-influence to which I allude was the *irresistible craving to exercise the creative faculty* with which she was so richly endowed. Imagination was to Emily all, […].[149]

He even achieves a merging of the two types of criticism in which he employs Charlotte's verses from 'The Visionary' to illustrate his own perception of the strength of Emily's imagination.

Mackay's article is, in some ways, an exemplary example of the link between the two types of criticism. He recognises the distress caused to the poet by the withdrawal of the imaginative power, but he never relates it to a mystical experience. Although his reference to: 'the strainful ecstasies of creative thought'[150] illustrate where a less perceptive critic might make that mistake. The statement brings his own reading of Emily's poetry close to the point at which interpretation could diverge towards mysticism; but in Mackay's handling it does not.

In January 1848 an anonymous reviewer in *Britannia* had likened *Wuthering Heights* to some German tales, a suggestion that was made once and then apparently forgotten. But in 1903 Mary Ward revisited the idea in her introduction to the Haworth edition of *Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey*.[151]

She said of *Wuthering Heights* that it

> […] has much more than a mere local or personal significance. It belongs to a particular European moment, […] it holds a typical and representative place in the English literature of the century.[152]

To Ward, not only was Emily Brontë's work of contemporary significance, but Emily herself was aware of the intellectual world around her. Ward said:

> […] this child of genius had from the beginning a certain access to good books, and through books and newspapers to the central world of thought and affairs.[153]

---

[149] Ibid., p.208.
[150] Ibid., p.210.
[151] Emily and Anne Brontë, *Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey*, The Haworth Edition of the Life and Works of the Sisters Brontë in Seven Volumes, Volume V, Introduction by Mrs. Humphry Ward (New York and London: Harper Brothers, 1903).
[152] Ward, ed. (1903), p.xvii.
[153] Ibid., p.xviii.

This creates a very different picture of Emily to that given by Charlotte in her Biographical Notice and Preface. Ward felt that

> […] the peculiar force of Emily's work lies in the fact that it represents the grafting of a European tradition upon a mind already richly stored with English and local reality.[154]

Specifically, she saw the possibility of influence from the works of Hoffmann, Tieck, and Goethe in Emily's work, and she noted that Emily would have had access to a translation of some of the works of Goethe in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* of 1839.

Most of Ward's 'Introduction' discusses *Wuthering Heights*, but she does give some small attention to Emily's poetry. In this area circumstance dictated that she was unable to escape the influence of the 'lexicon'.[155] She quotes from Charlotte's revised version of 'A little while, a little while', and also suggests that 'The Visionary' was 'Emily's last word to that guardian power of poetry'.[156] But overall, Ward's view of Emily was of a writer who engaged intellectually with the world in which she lived, and not of the mysterious, unlearned titan of the 'lexicon'.

'Stoic' is one epithet that has been applied to Emily Brontë which cannot be fully traced to the 'lexicon'. Charlotte's description of her character contained stoic elements. For example, when describing Emily's death, she said that her: 'spirit was inexorable to the flesh.'[157] But she only once called her sister a 'stoic', and that was in a letter to William Smith Williams in the month before Emily's death. She said that 'she is a real stoic in illness.'[158] 'The Old Stoic' was the title given to 'Riches I hold in light esteem' (EJB 8)[159] in *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell*, and in Chapter Three I examine the evidence for Emily's participation in the creation of that edition.

Margaret Maison, in *Notes and Queries* in 1978, discusses the relationship between Emily's work and Stoic teachings. She begins with an acknowledgement to the 'lexicon', by saying:

> It is well known that Emily Brontë's verse, like her life, was strongly tinged with Stoicism – chiefly as a result of her own temperament, aided perhaps by the exercise of the more austere Christian virtues of fortitude, courage and self-conquest.[160]

---

[154] Ibid., p.xxvi.
[155] Ward was writing in 1903, before the rediscovery of the EJB notebook, when the 1950 edition was the only reference point for the poems that it contained.
[156] Ward, ed. (1903), p.xl.
[157] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), p.xiv.
[158] Charlotte Brontë to William Smith Williams, 2 November 1848, Smith, ed. (2000), p.132.
[159] E. Brontë, 'Riches I hold in light esteem', 1 March 1841.
[160] Margaret Maison, 'Emily Brontë and Epictetus', *Notes and Queries*, CCXXIII, June 1978, pp.230-231 (p.230).

But then she goes on to explore the potential for Emily to have read or studied Stoic works. Maison cites *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* by Hester Chapone as a potential link between Emily and the works of the Stoic philosopher, Epictetus. The book was used at Roe Head School where Charlotte was educated, and which Emily attended briefly. Hester Chapone's friend, Elizabeth Carter, had published a translation of the discourses of Epictetus in 1785, which she prefaced with an ode by Chapone. Chapone was opposed to the Stoic philosophy, and her ode reflected her opposition. The ode contains a verse beginning: 'No more repine, my coward soul! | The sorrows of mankind to share'.[161] Maison suggests that 'No coward soul is mine' (EJB 31), is Emily Brontë's response to this poem. She also provides evidence from other poems to support her suggestion that Emily's work was influenced by Epictetus in particular.

More than ninety years after Mary Ward's introduction to the Haworth Edition, Stevie Davies developed the theme of Emily's engagement with German literature. She also seeks to place Emily in an intellectual context. In *Emily Brontë: Heretic* she says that: '[…] evidence is clear that Emily Brontë was vitally engaged in a dialogue with the most urgent and contemporaneous issues of the day.'[162] She traces the beginnings of Emily's engagement with German literature to her having learnt German at the Pensionnat Heger in Brussels, which she attended with Charlotte from February to November 1842.[163] Davies notes that German was on the curriculum of the Pensionnat, and that the curriculum of the school that the Brontë sisters were at that time planning to open, included German.

Davies' detailed examination of the potential sources of Emily's thoughts and ideas represents her liberation from the influence of the 'lexicon'. Charlotte Brontë had never mentioned Emily's nine months of European education in either her Biographical Notice, nor in her Preface. In her 'Prefatory note' to the poems contained in the 1850 edition she refers to the 'schoolroom' in which the purportedly sixteen year-old Emily composed the three poems that open that collection. In the same note she makes a brief reference to Emily accompanying her 'to an establishment on the Continent'.[164] But here she gives Emily's age as twenty at the time of that visit, rather than her actual age of twenty-four. Charlotte did recognise Emily's learning, although she was reluctant to share that recognition with the world.

[161] Hester Chapone, in Maison, (1978), p.231.
[162] Stevie Davies, *Emily Brontë: Heretic* (London: The Women's Press, 1994), p.53.
[163] The sisters returned to Haworth in November 1842 following their Aunt's death. Emily remained at home, but Charlotte returned to Brussels.
[164] C. Brontë, ed. (1850), pp.471-473.

In a letter to Ellen Nussey, written from Brussels she said: 'Emily is making rapid progresse [*sic*] in French, German, music and drawing.'[165]

Charlotte recognised two Emilys. There was the one whose progress at school in Brussels had impressed her; and there was also the one that she created and presented to the world in her 'lexicon'. This brings us back to Dinah Birch's recognition of Charlotte's motive in her recreation of her sister. Charlotte had her own, very personal reasons for what she did, and it is possible to understand and sympathise with these. But the results of her actions, as is evident through the examination of the long term effects of the 'lexicon' that she created must not be underestimated. Her motives were sincere, but their consequences continue to intrude into scholarship, and to affect perceptions of Emily's work.

In 1994 Stevie Davies produced a thorough and thought-provoking study of the literature that she perceived as instrumental in the development of Emily Brontë's ideas and her work. It defined her as educated, a beneficiary of the intellectual zeitgeist of the early nineteenth-century and it represented a ground-breaking step for 'non-lexicon' scholarship. But unfortunately, this strengthening of the 'non-lexicon' has not resulted in a definitive move away from 'lexicon scholarship'. As recently as 2012 Janet Gezari returned to the suggestion of Emily Brontë's mysticism, a move which indicates that there is still considerable power in the vocabulary that Charlotte embedded into the critical field over a hundred and sixty years ago. We have seen from early criticism by both Swinburne and Mackay that it is possible to address the complexities of Emily's poetry without recourse to the label of 'mystic', and in doing so to evince a deeper understanding of her work than is possible when: 'the vaguer and more impersonal interpretation'[166] is applied.

A complete liberation from Charlotte's 'Emily Brontë lexicon' will enable both a clearer understanding of Emily's own purpose in her transcription of her EJB notebook, and a recognition of where this placed her within her own contemporary intellectual climate. It will also make possible an elucidation of what she was able to contribute to that world. The new study of Emily's poetry and her purpose needs to take its own vocabulary from 'non-lexicon' scholarship and to define her ideas and philosophy using vocabulary that has its basis solely in her work and in her intellectual dialogues.

[165] Charlotte Brontë to Ellen Nussey, July 1842, Smith, ed. (1995), pp.289-290.
[166] Swinburne (1883), p.763.

Chapter Two: Emily Brontë's Intellectual Engagement

Chapter One described an Emily Brontë lexicon which began to enter scholarship in the 1850s as a result of Charlotte's representation of her sister. The chapter introduced the terms 'lexicon' and 'non-lexicon' scholarship.' 'Lexicon' scholarship was that which was influenced by Charlotte's editing of Emily's work, together with the biographical details that she provided, and her representation of Emily as Shirley Keeldar in her 1849 novel, *Shirley*. 'Non-lexicon' scholarship does not depend on Charlotte's reinterpretation of Emily, but instead focusses on the work that Emily produced. 'Non-lexicon' scholarship does not have recourse to the vocabulary which was introduced into Emily Brontë criticism and interpretation because of Charlotte's interventions.

In February 1844 Emily began transcription of two poetry notebooks. One is headed 'Gondal Poems' and contains forty-five poems written on sixty-eight pages.[1] The second notebook, and the one with which this chapter is concerned, is headed: 'EJB. Transcribed Febuary [*sic*][2] 1844' and contains thirty-one poems written on twenty-nine pages.[3] This chapter will argue that Emily created this notebook for a specific intellectual purpose. That she did so becomes apparent with a recognition that the poem written in the month of transcription occurs two thirds of the way through the notebook, and the poems that precede it are taken from her existing canon but are set thematically in a non-chronological order. The purposeful and non-chronological ordering of the poems in this notebook, together with their intellectual content, supports the 'non-lexicon' view of some critics, from Mary Ward onwards, that not only was Emily Brontë aware of contemporary European literature, but that her engagement with it is evident in her work. Mary Ward was discussing the effect of German literature on *Wuthering Heights*,[4] but this chapter explores the idea that the EJB notebook was intentionally created as an engagement with a philosophical movement that had its roots in Germany in the late eighteenth, and early nineteenth-centuries. At the time that Emily Brontë was writing, the ideas with which I consider that she was engaging were spreading across France and England,[5] and were beginning to achieve recognition in North

[1] BL Add. MS. 43483.
[2] 'Febuary' here replicates Emily Brontë's orthography. From this point on I will omit [*sic*] when reproducing Emily's idiosyncratic spellings.
[3] The 'EJB' notebook was formerly in the collection of Sir Alfred Law of 'Honresfeld' in Littleborough and is currently unavailable for scholarship.
[4] Ward, ed. (1903).
[5] T.J. Reed, *Light in Germany: Scenes from an Unknown Enlightenment* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p.2.

America.[6] Emily's work on the EJB notebook places her clearly among the contemporary English writers who were exploring these ideas. The structure and content of the notebook reveals her engagement with philosophical ideas, and with contemporary dialogues on the poetic representation of philosophy.

The place of the notebook in intellectual and philosophical history has not been recognised. This chapter reviews the opinions of commentators and critics, and their perceptions of the purpose of the EJB notebook. It proposes that the notebook has been consistently defined by its relationship to the Gondal notebook, and that this has resulted in a lack of proper consideration of its real purpose.

It is apparent from an examination of Emily's work, that dates were important to her. Throughout her canon she displays an assiduous temporal organisation and it is this approach that has made it possible to gain a clear insight into the uses to which she puts her poems. This chapter scrutinizes her temporal management and particularly the way that this was employed in her construction of the EJB notebook. It proposes that a thorough understanding of this process enables us to recognise how she intentionally deployed poems for more than one purpose. Here I define and explain those purposes in the context of the notebook.

The exploration of Emily's engagement with contemporary European literature and philosophy must recognise the potential for her to have access to that literature. This consideration, together with her synthesis of the material and her ultimately idiosyncratic presentation of her resulting philosophy, is woven together to present her as a vital but as yet unrecognised, participant in and contributor to, the expression of early nineteenth-century philosophy through poetry.

Critical Perceptions of the EJB Notebook

The EJB notebook has not yet been recognised as a discrete and purposeful work, and I argue that this is partly a result of its perceived relationship to the Gondal notebook.

Whether coincidentally or not, both the Gondal and the EJB notebooks fleetingly emerged from obscurity in the same year. It was in March 1915, seventy-one years after the beginning of transcription of the two notebooks, that Arthur C. Benson published his collection, *Brontë Poems*, and included in it two facsimile pages from the Gondal notebook. He acknowledged Mrs George M Smith[7] for

[6] Rosemary Ashton, *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p.19.

[7] Mrs George M. Smith was the widow of George Murray Smith, the son of George Smith of Smith Elder, Charlotte Brontë's publishers. The Gondal notebook was bought by the Smith family in the Nicholls' sale of 1914 (see Figure 1).

allowing reproduction from: '[…] the M.S. volume of her poems "transcribed by EMILY JANE BRONTË February 1844"',[8] which was at that time in her possession.

In December of the same year *The Rochdale Observer* carried a report of a visit by the Rochdale Literary and Scientific Society to the library of one of its members, Sir Alfred Law of Honresfeld in Littleborough. The report describes a poetry MS seen by the members during their visit. It was headed: 'E.J.B. – transcribed 1844' and the report says: 'The poems are 31 in number and are written on 29 pages.'[9] This then, was the EJB notebook. The *Rochdale Observer* report refers to Benson's edition, and it seems possible that Benson's facsimile reproduction of the Gondal poems triggered further interest in Emily Brontë holographic material, potentially leading to the decision to publish information about the EJB MS, and thereby ensuring the emergence of both notebooks in the same year.

The Gondal notebook was not seen again by the public until it was presented to the British Museum by Alexander Murray Smith in 1933. But the EJB notebook reappeared in 1926 when Davidson Cook wrote about his rediscovery of it in the Honresfeld Library.[10]

In 1938, five years after the acquisition of the Gondal MS by the British Museum, Helen Brown and Joan Mott wrote a brief account of the notebook in which they said:

> This MS. is particularly interesting when it is considered in connection with its companion volume, the MS. in the Law collection.[11]

This is the first suggestion that the two notebooks formed a pair, but it began a conceptual link that recurred in the mid twentieth-century, and which has remained an impediment to an effective interpretation of the purpose of the EJB notebook. In my view, the pairing of the two notebooks has hindered the consideration that there might be a need to investigate the purpose behind the transcription. The EJB has, in effect, been viewed in contrast to the Gondal notebook, rather than as a work with its own integrity. It has been consistently defined by the relationship between the two MSS.

---

[8] Benson, ed. (1915), p.xxv.
[9] Anonymous article, 'The Brontë Manuscript at Honresfeld. Unpublished Poems of Emily Brontë', *The Rochdale Observer*, 1 December 1915.
[10] Cook (August 1926).
[11] Emily Brontë, *Gondal Poems*, Edited from the Autograph MS in the British Museum by Helen Brown and Joan Mott, With Two Facsimiles (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Shakespeare Head Press, 1938), p.7.

Earlier writers, including Cook in 1926, and Wise and Symington in their 1934 'Shakespeare Head Brontë' edition of the poems, made no mention of the purpose or interpretation of the EJB notebook, even though the Wise and Symington edition carried a facsimile copy of the holograph.[12] C.W. Hatfield's 1941 edition concentrates on the text and the chronological ordering of the poems, and Fannie Ratchford, writing in 1955 quoted Hatfield as having said that he was not concerned with the pattern suggested by the poems. His concern was with establishing their text and dates.[13]

Ratchford herself believed that almost all of Emily Brontë's poems fitted into the Gondal framework. She felt that the separation of the poems into two separate notebooks, 'implies a deliberate distinction between Gondal poems and non-Gondal or subjective poems.'[14] But she suggests that the implied distinction may not have been conscious. If, however, it was intentional, then the EJB poems, being less obviously Gondal, could, in her view, have been separated from those distinctly Gondal with the possibility of future publication in mind.

Philip Henderson, in 1951, was the first to suggest that if the EJB poems were not Gondal, then they must be 'personal':

> In two small notebooks filled with microscopic handwriting, Emily kept her Gondal poems separate from her more directly personal poems.[15]

From this point onwards the EJB poems are usually referred to as either 'personal' or not-Gondal. It seems that by beginning the transcription of two, physically very similar, notebooks in the same month, and by giving one a title, but omitting a title for the second book, Emily has ensured that the second notebook, the EJB, has always been perceived as the notebook that is not called 'Gondal', and that the 'not-Gondal' designation must be its definition. The most recurrent view of this has been that if not-Gondal, then the poems must be personal.

I intend to uncover the distinct purpose apparent in the construction of the EJB notebook, beyond being a collection of poems that are not about Gondal. Equally, I explore the 'personal' designation of the poems. Edward Chitham, in *The Birth of Wuthering Heights* (1998), refers to the EJB as 'MS A' (Hatfield's designation) and describes the poems as: 'Emily's own, written *in propria*

[12] Wise and Symington, ed. (1934).
[13] Emily Brontë, *Gondal's Queen: A Novel in Verse*, Arranged and ed. with an Introduction and Notes by Fannie E. Ratchford (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1955).
[14] Ratchford, ed. (1955), p.31.
[15] Emily Brontë, *The Complete Poems of Emily Brontë*, ed. Philip Henderson (London: The Folio Society, 1951), p.v.

persona'.[16] He bases this view on the lack of initials of a 'fictional writer' above the EJB poems, as opposed to the Gondal poems which often, but not always, carry the initials of the relevant characters at the head of the poem. This conception is an insight, but it has not yet been fully explored. 'Personal' is not a final definition in itself, although I argue that the poems describe a developing personal philosophy.

Margaret Homans, writing in 1980, stands out as giving what seems to me to be the most objective summary of the EJB notebook. She describes the related transcription of the two notebooks, and the Gondal nature of one of them. But she says of the EJB: 'The other notebook, considered here, bears no title but consists largely of poems that are either explicitly or implicitly about imaginative experience.'[17] This comment is unusual in giving consideration to the EJB poems without recourse to their not-Gondal status. But it is the beginning of her exploration and unfortunately, as Chapter One showed, Margaret Homans went on to give a 'lexicon' interpretation of the EJB poems and so did not address the absolute intent and the inherent development behind the EJB notebook.

The Construction of the EJB Notebook.

The claim for intention and purpose behind Emily Brontë's transcription of the EJB notebook must have intellectual verification. This can be partly achieved by a scrutiny of the framework within which she worked, and by a recognition of what this structure and method meant to her work, particularly to her construction of the EJB notebook.

A reading of her canon confirms the importance that dates and timing held for Emily. In fact, the fundamental framework in which she organised her poetry, was temporal, and her idiosyncratic system has made it possible to trace her intentional construction and sequencing of the EJB notebook. Not only did she date her poems on composition, and then retain that date on future transcriptions of the poems, but she also headed her two main poetry notebooks with the dates of the original transcription. This practice has provided a framework in which to decipher when a poem was originally composed, how it was then re-used within a new transcription, and to some extent what place the poem took in the process of the creation of that transcription. In turn, this gives the opportunity to recognise the potential purposes for which she re-used her poems, and in the case of the EJB, the purpose of the notebook itself.

[16] Edward Chitham, *The Birth of Wuthering Heights: Emily Brontë at Work* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), first published 1998, p.67.
[17] Homans (1980), pp.108-109.

Emily was neither a prolific poet, nor has it been easy for editors to agree on the exact number of poems that she wrote. Hatfield gives the final number as one hundred and ninety-three,[18] but this includes one poem, 'I've been wandering in the greenwoods'[19] which has since been found to be by Charlotte Brontë.[20] Janet Gezari, who is the first editor to address the problem of exactly where many of Emily's poems begin and end,[21] gives her final number as one hundred and ninety-five. Derek Roper lists two hundred and one poems,[22] although this number includes 'Often rebuked yet always back returning', which I have argued was most probably written by Charlotte, as an interpretation of Emily.

Janet Gezari's examination of which poems constitute fragments, and which should be read together is compelling,[23] and it justifies using her suggested final number of poems. The EJB notebook contains thirty-one poems, and the Gondal has forty-five, totalling seventy-six poems which is fewer than half of Gezari's final number. This in itself suggests that the poems chosen for these notebooks had significance for their author, particularly as many of them were written well before the date of transcription.

'My Comforter' as the Crux of the EJB Notebook

The transcription date of February 1844 heads both the EJB and the Gondal notebooks, but only the EJB contains a poem that was actually composed during that month.[24] This poem (EJB 22) is headed 'My Comforter', and it describes the intellectual engagement on which the structure and content of the EJB notebook is based. The poem begins:

> Well hast thou spoken – and yet not taught
> A feeling strange or new–
> Thou hast but roused a latent thought,
> A cloud-closed beam of sunshine brought
> To gleam in open view-[25]

[18] Hatfield, ed. (1941).
[19] Ibid., pp.135-136.
[20] This poem was amongst the holographs now in the Taylor Collection at Princeton University (see Figure 1). The MS was not available to Hatfield in 1941 and he relied on Shorter's 1910 edition of the poems for his information. The Taylor holographs have since been examined and this poem found to have been signed by Charlotte.
[21] Gezari, ed. (1992), pp.xxi-xxiii.
[22] Roper, ed. (1995).
[23] Gezari, ed. (1992), pp.xxi-xxiii.
[24] Emily composed two poems during February 1844, but one, 'The day is done, the winter sun' was not transcribed into either notebook.
[25] Emily Brontë, 'Well hast thou spoken – and yet not taught' ('My Comforter'), 10 February 1844.

This poem seems to be addressing someone who has written or spoken of ideas which were not new to the poet, but which clarified something of which she was already subconsciously aware. The poem goes on to detail briefly what that 'latent thought' might be:

> Deep down – concealed within my soul
> That light lies hid from men.
> yet glows unquenched – though shadows roll,
> Its gentle ray can not control,
> -About the sullen den-[26]

The description of the situation before the voice of the 'Comforter' was heard takes up the rest of the poem.

The twenty-one poems that precede 'My Comforter' and the one following it in the notebook, were all composed before 10 February 1844. We know that transcription began in February 1844, and this leaves two possibilities. Derek Roper has suggested that there was an initially thematic, but later arbitrary, ordering of the poems in the notebook.[27] But I argue that purposeful transcription began after the composition of 'My Comforter', and affected the entire notebook. I propose that there was nothing arbitrary about it. Roper's view assumes a purposeful beginning, using previously written poems from the canon, probably early in February, but that there was a loss of focus as transcription continued. This does not take into account the fact that the twenty-second poem of the notebook was composed during the month of transcription, and in fact, quite early in that month. A reading based on an understanding of Emily Brontë's temporal organisation, which also recognises the intellectual climate in which she was writing, supports my view that with the composition of 'My Comforter' she began a process of intellectual engagement. In order to support this, and as part of the development of her ideas, she then selected previously written poems to precede 'My Comforter' non-chronologically, within the notebook.[28] In this case, transcription of the entire notebook would have begun after the composition of 'My Comforter' on 10 February, and far from being arbitrary, a strong sequential framework within the poems composed after that date can be seen.

The conceptual and empirical evidence for the importance of 'My Comforter' must be explored in detail. This poem is the crux of the notebook. It is twenty-second in a sequence of thirty-one poems, but conceptually it is the first poem of the

[26] E. Brontë, 10 February 1844.
[27] Roper, ed. (1995), p.26.
[28] The content of several of the early poems suggests that they were initially written as Gondal poems, but that they are being re-used for a new purpose in the EJB notebook.

notebook.[29] This does not mean that it should be read first, but that its composition, and the intellectual encounter that it describes, was the reason for the creation of the entire notebook. This encounter occasioned the need for Emily to select previously written poems from her canon to describe the intellectual and spiritual journey which had prepared her for the reminder that came from her 'Comforter.'[30] For this reason I think that the EJB notebook, while collectively describing one intellectual journey, should also be viewed as two parts, with 'My Comforter' as the point at which the two sections connect. EJB 22 is, in effect, the progenitor of both parts of the notebook. But the difference between those two parts is that the poems from EJB 24 onwards were written specifically to develop the philosophy which Emily is exploring within the notebook, whereas EJB 1 – 21 were written previously and selected as significant to the earlier part of the story. EJB 23 was also written before 'My Comforter', but it is evident that it was transcribed after because it supports and develops the content of EJB 22.

To understand the process that Emily went through in the creation of the notebook, I will take 'My Comforter' as a vantage point and stand at that point in the MS. From here I will look back to the ideas that led her to recognise the words of the Comforter, and forwards to the intellectual journey that began as a result of this encounter.

The potential identity of the 'Comforter' who gave the reminder must be investigated in order to begin to place the philosophy of the notebook within the intellectual world of the early nineteenth-century. For this, a consideration of the literature and ideas that Emily may have had access to by February 1844 is vital.

Literature and Ideas

A scrutiny of the purpose behind the transcription of the EJB notebook requires an understanding of the intellectual climate at the time of transcription, and specifically of Emily Brontë's place within that world.

The 'lexicon' view of Emily, inherited from Charlotte, was of someone relatively uneducated and uninterested in learning from other minds. This, together with the conception of 'Shirley-as-Emily', and Charlotte's revisions of the poems of

[29] That this proposal is valid, and that to Emily herself 'My Comforter' was conceptually first, is further evidenced by the presence of a tiny number 1, written in the notebook above the poem and before the date (see my transcription, p.18).

[30] It is not unreasonable to suggest that Emily Brontë's intellectual encounter with the 'Comforter', and the need that it occasioned for the transcription of previously written poems, was also the catalyst that led to her creating the Gondal notebook in the same month. The Gondal notebook does not contain any poems composed in February 1844, but the first Gondal poem to be transcribed after this date lies fifth in the notebook. This poem, 'This summer wind with thee and me' was composed on 2 March 1844, so unlike the EJB MS, transcription of the Gondal MS did not proceed very far during February 1844.

1850, resulted in the assumption that if Emily had abstract and imaginative thoughts, they were most likely to be because of her perceived mysticism than as a consequence of focussed reading and understanding of new ideas. The 'lexicon' Emily would be more readily influenced by her wild, moorland environment than by the intellectual world around her. To understand Emily's purposeful transcription of the EJB notebook it is necessary to discard these preconceptions and, as Chapter One demanded, to establish an entirely new vocabulary with which to interpret her writing.

Mary Ward saw the potential for the influence of German writers in Emily's work, and she suggested that European ideas had been grafted onto a vigorous and imaginative mind.[31] In 1994 Stevie Davies developed this theme saying:

> When we consider the unparalleled economy of Emily Brontë's intelligence, its power to digest and concentrate information, grasping the essentials of an equation and reproducing it in appropriated form, it is possible to conceive that she might only have needed a handful of articles in order to 'graft' the German ideas upon her own – though it would have taken, I believe, more than a couple of translated stories to have had this effect.[32]

Davies is discussing the effect of Emily's reading on *Wuthering Heights*, but this comment applies equally to the poetry. The masterful control of material that is apparent in the development of her ideas through the structuring of her work in the EJB notebook suggests not just a grafting, but a more detailed understanding and use of the theories with which she decided to engage. Emily was no stranger to intellectual experimentation and investigation. In an article for *Brontë Studies* in January 2015, Christopher Cooper, a retired senior mathematics lecturer from Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia, professed himself impressed by the 'sense of logic and pattern' exhibited by her in a set of geometrical exercises for drawing ellipses which she completed independently. When compared with the instructions given in the text book that she used, her work showed that she did not merely copy the figures, but understood and applied the method, working through the construction herself.[33] I think that this capacity to understand and apply a complex method, using it to produce her own distinctive outcomes, is a skill that she brought to her engagement with philosophy.

An exposition of the works that she was responding to in her creation of the notebook should begin by asking the question of which works she was able to

---

[31] Ward, ed. (1903), p.xxvi.
[32] Davies (1994), p.51.
[33] Christopher Cooper, 'Was Emily Brontë an Amateur Geometer?' *BS*, Vol. 40, No. 1, January 2015, pp.1-10.

address. It is therefore necessary to look carefully at the availability of literature to her, and at her linguistic capacity to access that literature.

The examination of the construction of the EJB notebook places EJB 22, 'My Comforter', composed on 10 February 1844, at the crux of the work. This suggests that in looking for ideas that may have influenced her initial intention we should examine work that she would have had access to before that date.

Available literature can be classified in at least three ways. First, that which is known to have belonged to the Brontë family and is now in the Brontë Parsonage Museum;[34] second, that which was reproduced in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, or *Fraser's*, both of which were read by the Brontë family during the 1830s and 1840s; and finally, literature which we can reasonably believe was accessible to Emily. When considering the last category parameters must be set to define reasonableness. This is easiest to do with books published and available in England; particularly if Stevie Davies' premise that books may be available beyond the possibility of borrowing them from the Keighley Mechanics' Institute library, or from privately owned local libraries is accepted:

> Books may steal unnoted in and out of lives, even those of young women without spare cash living in the north of England. One may send away for them; they may come in or go out via the hand of a brother or visitor, or be picked up on a trip to Halifax, Manchester or Brussels.[35]

The crucial date of February 1844 for availability of literature requires an examination of Emily's life before that time, and an investigation of the potential that circumstances provided for her access to literature.

There is very little exact biographical information available about Emily Brontë and what little there is should be harnessed in this investigation. There is however, a continuing tendency for unreliability sometimes amounting to mythology in accounts of her life, and to avoid this only events for which there is empirical evidence will be referenced.

In her Diary Paper of 30 July 1841 Emily wrote:

> A scheme is at present in agitation for setting us [Charlotte, Emily and Anne] up in a School of our own as yet nothing is determined but I hope and trust it may go on and prosper and answer our highest expectations-[36]

---

[34] Use of this category carries the caveat that the date of ownership or publication must predate February 1844, or January 1846 for writing that may have influenced later poems in the notebook.
[35] Davies (1994), p.48.
[36] Emily Brontë, 'Diary Paper', 30 July 1841, MS formerly on the Law Collection, reproduced in: Christine Alexander and Jane Sellars, *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.383.

In her corresponding Diary Paper, Anne wrote: 'We are thinking of setting up a school of our own, but nothing definite is settled about it yet'.[37]

Charlotte's letters of the following months tell the story of the advancement of the plan to prepare for the opening of a school. In her correspondence with Ellen Nussey she mentions Martha Taylor, the sister of their mutual friend Mary, who was then 'enjoying great advantages' in a finishing school in Brussels. The letter tells how hearing of Martha's and Mary's experiences in Brussels gave Charlotte 'a strong wish for wings'.[38] In September 1841 she wrote to her Aunt Branwell[39] suggesting that she [Charlotte] and Emily, go to Brussels for a half year's education, which they: 'would turn to vast account, when we actually commenced a school'. She said that the cost of £50 or £100 would be well spent. Of her choice of Emily as companion she said: 'I say Emily instead of Anne; for Anne might take her turn at some future period, if our school answered.' [40]

Charlotte's 'wish for wings' was realised, and she and Emily arrived at the Pensionnat Heger[41] in Brussels on 15 February 1842. At the ages of twenty-five (Charlotte), and twenty-four (Emily), they were mature among other pupils who were of ordinary school-age; and they were in an establishment where the first language was French.

The prospectus of the Pensionnat listed the general subjects as:

> French language, History, arithmetic, geography and writing, as well as the skills in needlework which a well-brought-up young lady requires. […] Lessons in music and foreign languages etc. are at the parents' expense.[42]

According to Elizabeth Gaskell the Hegers agreed to suggest a single inclusive sum for Emily's and Charlotte's education rather than stipulating separate expenses.[43] The inclusion in their education of subjects beyond the basic curriculum is evidenced by Charlotte's letter to Ellen Nussey of July 1842. She said:

---

[37] Anne Brontë, 'Diary Paper', 30 July 1841, MS formerly in the Law Collection, reproduced in Smith, ed. (1995), p.264.
[38] Charlotte Brontë to Ellen Nussey, 7 August 1841, Smith, ed. (1995), p.266.
[39] Charlotte was at that time governess to the White family of Upperwood House, Rawdon,.
[40] Charlotte Brontë to Elizabeth Branwell, 29 September 1841, Smith, ed. (1995), pp.268-269.
[41] I use the Germanic spelling of the name Heger, without the accent above the first e, as that is the one preferred by the Heger family during the Brontës' time at the school. Esther Alice Chadwick, *In the Footsteps of the Brontës* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1914), p.213, notes that Heger's family came originally from Vienna and therefore used the German spelling of the name Heger, without an accent. Constantin Heger signed his name: 'C. Heger' on the devoirs and on letters addressed to the Brontë family.
[42] 'Madame Heger's Prospectus', translation in Smith, ed., 1995, p.288.
[43] Gaskell (1996), p.171.

> Emily is making rapid progresse [*sic*] in French, German, Music and Drawing – Monsieur and Madame Heger begin to recognise the valuable points of her character under her singularities.[44]

Whether German lessons were included in the overall sum is not clear. Charlotte continued to learn German when she returned alone to Brussels in January 1843[45], and in a letter to Emily written in May 1843 she says:

> The reason of the unconscionable demand for money is explained in my letter to papa. Would you believe it, Mdlle. Mühl[46] demands as much for one pupil as for two, namely, 10 francs per month. […] You will perceive I have begun again to take German lessons.'[47]

This suggests that Charlotte and Emily had been paying an additional cost for their German lessons during 1842, and that Mdlle. Mühl was their visiting teacher.

Emily's time in Brussels from February to November 1842 allowed her to benefit from a more sophisticated education than the 'lexicon' assumes. In her introduction to the Haworth Edition of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*, Mary Ward suggests that there was evidence of a 'particular European moment' within *Wuthering Heights*,[48] and although I think that this is perhaps too specific a statement, it does have significance. The EJB notebook was transcribed in the interval between Emily's time in Brussels and her composition of *Wuthering Heights*. Any intellectual influence that informed the novel must certainly also have affected the notebook, and a consideration of the literary and philosophical world into which Emily moved during her time in Europe reveals a combination of intellectual circumstances that, together with the ideas that were evidently reaching England at that time, are, I think, reflected in her creation of the EJB notebook and thence of *Wuthering Heights*.

A 'Particular European Moment'

For Emily, the circumstances which led to the intellectual position in which she was placed in February 1844, began partly, several years earlier, with the family's arrangement to borrow *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from a neighbour,[49] and also with their subscription to *Fraser's Magazine* from 1832 onwards.[50] The

[44] Charlotte Brontë to Ellen Nussey, July 1842, Smith, ed. (1995), pp.289-290.
[45] Charlotte Brontë to Ellen Nussey, 6 March 1843, Smith, ed. (1995), pp.311-312.
[46] Mühl is a German name which translates as the English 'Mill'. The Brontës' German teacher therefore likely to have been a German woman.
[47] Charlotte Brontë to Emily Brontë, 29 May 1843, Smith, ed. (1995), pp.319-320.
[48] Ward, ed. (1903), p.xxvi.
[49] Alexander and Smith, ed. (2006), p.47. The Brontë family had access to copies of *Blackwood's* dating back to 1818, the year of Emily's birth.
[50] Ibid, p.201.

availability of these magazines meant that Emily had the opportunity to read a wide range of contemporary literature, criticism, and comment throughout her life. Consequently, when she arrived in Brussels for her ten months of intensive European education she must already have been aware of the work of many contemporary British and European writers.

In February 1842 she arrived at the Pensionnat Heger where she would be taught German by a visiting teacher, and French literature and writing by Constantin Heger. Heger was a teacher of literature and rhetoric, who, as well as teaching in his wife's Pensionnat, also taught the younger boys at the Athénée Royal, the boys' college in Brussels. To understand the effect that these teachers could have had on Emily's intellectual development it is necessary to explore the philosophical and artistic world that would have helped to mould their own ideas and preferences.

The German philosopher and teacher, Immanuel Kant, who died in 1804, has been considered the central figure of the German 'Enlightenment'. The European world of thought into which the two Brontës moved in 1842 was not only one which had been influenced by Kant's writing, but one which had benefitted from the philosophical developments which had grown and diverged from his original ideas. Kant's philosophy, particularly as it is expressed in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (first published in 1787)[51] forms a theoretical framework of principles[52] which were taken up by scientists, writers, critics, theorists and philosophers, and then interpreted and developed divergently.

For Emily Brontë's teachers it is likely that one of the most significant developments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the effect that the original, and the post-Kantian philosophies, had on literature and criticism. The Brontës' teacher of German, Mdlle Mühl, would have had linguistic access to the works that had appeared during that time, although we cannot know whether she read Kant directly. But it will become apparent that the influence of his philosophy reached beyond those individuals who read him at first hand. This was largely because of the impact of that philosophy on the German literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. Constantin Heger, however, was a French-speaking Belgian, so can it be assumed that he also knew of and read German literature?

[51] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans by Norman Kemp Smith, with an introduction by Howard Caygill (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[52] Henry Sidgwick, 'The Transcendental Aesthetic', *Lectures on the Philosophy of Kant and other Philosophical Lectures and Essays* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1905), p.21.

In 1813 Madame de Staël[53] published a book called *De l'Allemagne* (On Germany) in which she said: 'Germany has treasures of ideas and knowledge which the rest of the nations of Europe will not be able to exhaust for a long time.'[54] In his 2015 examination of the German Enlightenment T. J. Reed said of 'On Germany':

> By the early eighteen-hundreds the French, who had long taken their own cultural hegemony for granted, were following Madame de Staël's lead in seeing this German generation – Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Kant, Herder, the Romantics – as the European leaders in poetic and intellectual innovation.[55]

De Staël's book makes particular mention of Goethe, Schiller, Kant, and both Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel. This book introduced the French-speaking world to the intellectual riches of post-Enlightenment and early Romantic Germany, and we can be tolerably confident that as a teacher of literature, Heger would have been aware of these writers and thinkers, and that he would have recognised their importance to the intellectual world of the time. In fact, as will be seen, there is evidence that Schiller, of whom Madame de Staël said, 'There is no more noble career than literature when followed in Schiller's manner',[56] formed part of the programme of teaching at the Pensionnat.

It is possible that Madame de Staël's writing helped to create a situation through which Emily might have been able to benefit from the transfer of German ideas to French-speaking Europe, but this was by no means the only way in which she could have influenced Emily's potential access to the literature and philosophies that were emerging from Germany at that time. In 1824 Thomas Carlyle sent a copy of his translation of *Wilhelm Meister* to Goethe, its German author. In his *Correspondence Between Goethe and Carlyle*, Charles Norton suggests that Carlyle's long-lasting interest in German literature and thought was first roused by his reading of Madame de Staël's *On Germany*.[57] This marked the beginning of an engagement with German literature for Carlyle, and he went on to write a *Life of Schiller* as well as essays on Novalis, Schiller, Goethe, and on German literature and poetry, all of which were published in England.[58] His 1831 article on Schiller

[53] Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein (Madame de Staël) was a French intellectual and writer with an interest in politics. She lived from 1766 – 1817.
[54] Madame de Staël, 'On Germany', *On Politics, Literature and National Character*, trans and ed. by Morroe Berger (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1964), p.250.
[55] Reed (2015), p.2.
[56] De Staël (1964), p.243.
[57] Thomas Carlyle and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Correspondence Between Goethe and Carlyle*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton (London: Macmillan, 1887), p.viii.
[58] Carlyle (1899).

and his 1832 article 'Goethe's Portrait' were both published in *Fraser's Magazine*, and would therefore have been accessible to Emily.

Carlyle's essays were also published in some American magazines, and so in his turn, Carlyle was the means of the movement of German philosophy from Europe to America. Rosemary Ashton questions his understanding of Kant, and suggests that the lack of clarity that he displayed in his analyses resulted in a new, and slightly different movement:

> Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and other Americans absorbed a 'German philosophy' which was the result of some misunderstanding and exaggeration by Carlyle, being far removed from its roots in Kant, but which bloomed in its new soil as 'Transcendentalism'.[59]

It will become apparent that Charlotte Brontë, at least, saw some connection between her sister Emily's thought, and Ralph Waldo Emerson's 'Transcendentalism'.

An Examination of the EJB Notebook[60]

Emily's education in Brussels, at a time when the French-speaking world was engaging with German literature and philosophy, together with her opportunities to access the English interpretations of the same works, put her in a unique position to develop her own understanding of what was at that time an important European movement. She began transcribing the EJB notebook fourteen months after her return to Haworth from Brussels, and a scrutiny of the structure and content of the notebook shows that it was here that I consider she expressed her own reactions to the philosophies and literature that she had encountered. That she chose to express those reactions through poetry shows an even closer engagement with the thinkers whose work had, I think, impressed her.

I have described the centrality of EJB 22, 'My Comforter', to the structure of the notebook, and an examination of the entire work should begin with this poem. Transcription began in February 1844, and EJB 22 was composed on 10 February 1844. EJB 23, 'How clear she shines! How quietly' was written on 13 April 1843, but was transcribed after 'My Comforter', so the initial transcription must have included poems 1 – 23. This means that the selection of the previously written poems, numbers 1 – 21 (and number 23) must have taken place before the composition of 24 – 31. We must, therefore, look for evidence within numbers 22 and 23 for ideas that would have influenced Emily's selection and sequencing of the poems that

[59] Ashton (1980), p.19.
[60] See Appendix A: 'Transcript of the EJB Notebook', for text, details of composition dates, and sequence of poems.

make up numbers 1 – 21. The poems from 24 onwards, although apparently a development of the themes of numbers 22 and 23, could not have influenced the selection of the earlier poems. In the light of this I will examine number 22 and then number 23, and then consider how these poems affected the selection of 1 – 21.

EJB 22 and 23

A reading of the poems of the notebook shows that many form part of either pairs or groups. I will refer to these as 'suites' of poems. The first suite to consider is that formed by EJB 22, 'Well hast thou spoken – and yet not taught' ('My Comforter'),[61] and EJB 23, 'How clear she shines! How quietly'.[62]

Before considering the two as a suite, however, it is important to examine 'My Comforter' in detail, and to investigate where its composition places Emily Brontë within her contemporary intellectual *Zeitgeist*.

The poem begins by addressing someone whose words have served as a reminder to the poet:

> Well hast thou spoken – and yet not taught
> A feeling strange or new –
> Thou hast but roused a latent thought,
> A cloud-closed beam of sunshine brought
> To gleam in open view -

The latent thought is the knowledge of a light hidden within the soul which is unaffected by the darkness and shadows of the outer world:

> Deep down – concealed within my soul
> That light lies hid from men.
> yet glows unquenched – though shadows roll,
> Its gentle ray can not control,
> - About the sullen den –

These two stanzas introduce the three main themes of the poem, which are: the arousal of the latent thought, the light within, and the darkness and misery without. The two following stanzas describe in detail the misery of the outer world before the reminder of the inner light:

> Was I not vexed, in these gloomy ways
> To walk unlit so long?

[61] E. Brontë, 'My Comforter', 10 February 1844.
[62] E. Brontë, 'How clear she shines! How quietly', 13 April 1843.

Around me, wretches uttering praise
Or howling o'er their hopless days –
And each with Frenzy's tongue –

A Brotherhood of misery,
Their smiles as sad as sighs –
Whose madness daily maddened me,
Distorting into agony
The Bliss before my eyes –

Readers have sometimes struggled to interpret these lines. To Derek Roper they suggest Hogarth's depiction of Bedlam from 'A Rake's Progress', and he thinks that this indicates an awareness of religious mania.[63] There is, however, no record of the Brontë family having owned any Hogarth prints. John Hewish (1969) considers that the verses suggest Emily's 'troubled family',[64] but how this interpretation fits in with the rest of the poem he does not say.

The fifth stanza describes the position of the speaker when knowledge of the light within was still a latent and not fully recognised thought:

So stood I – in Heavens glorious sun
And in the glare of Hell
My spirit drank a mingled tone
Of seraph's song and demon's moan.
-What my soul bore, my soul alone
Within its self may tell –

This situation was agonising because of the partially recognised potential for clarity. The speaker was not able to articulate the effects of the strife between the darkness and the light on her own soul, which is seen here as a discrete entity.

The poem ends with two stanzas describing the calming effect of the Comforter's reminder, and the poet's gratitude:

Like a soft air above a sea
Tossed by the tempest's stir –
A thaw-wind melting quietly
The snowdrift on some wintery lea
-No – what sweet thing can match with thee,
My thoughtful Comforter?

And yet a little longer speak
Calm this resentful mood
And while the savage heart grows meek,
For other token do not seek,
But let the tear upon my cheek
Evince my gratitude -

[63] Roper, ed. (1995), p.260.
[64] John Hewish, *Emily Brontë: A Critical and Biographical Study* (London: Macmillan, 1969), p.74.

The significance of the suggestion that natural similes are not sufficient to describe the peace brought by the Comforter will become apparent when I examine the poems that were chosen to precede 'My Comforter'.

The first, and crucial, idea of the poem is that of the 'latent thought' which was roused by a reminder from the 'Comforter'. This raises several questions. What was the nature of the latent thought? Why was it hidden? Who was the 'Comforter' who helped to rouse it? And why does the renewed knowledge of the light within enable the poet to withstand the hopelessness of the world around?

As Emily Brontë develops her own poetic philosophy through the EJB notebook, it is evident that she shares ideas with some contemporary, or slightly earlier, thought systems. It is important here to try to recognise the original source, and then the potential conduits of the ideas. In order to attempt to identify the nature of the latent thought it is necessary to go back to Immanuel Kant, the conceptual source of the strata of literature and philosophy important in Europe in the early nineteenth-century.[65] In his *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant describes a type of understanding that is based on neither empirical experience nor on sensation. It is not learned. It is an intuition which Kant terms *a priori* because it was already in existence before experience.[66]

In this poem Emily's 'latent thought' bears a resemblance to Kant's notion of *a priori* knowledge or understanding. But this consideration raises the question of how and where she would have learned of *a priori* knowledge - if indeed she did. Kant is mentioned in three different articles in *Blackwood's* in 1843. But these are passing references in articles with a different focus, and they do not describe his philosophy in any detail. We know that Emily learned German from a German woman while she was in Brussels, and that Constantin Heger would have been presumably, aware of German thought. It is possible that these teachers discussed contemporary philosophy as well as literature with their pupils, particularly the more mature Charlotte and Emily. But for a judicious consideration it is necessary to focus on works that would have been most likely to have been presented to an English pupil, albeit mature and extremely gifted, in a Brussels school. In fact, it is more likely that rather than encountering the works of Kant himself, Emily was introduced to literature, in both Brussels and England, that had its roots in his original philosophy.

[65] Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was a German Philosopher based at the University of Königsberg in East Prussia.
[66] Kant (2007).

One writer, whose work formed part of the curriculum of the Pensionnat Heger, was the poet Schiller. Schiller expressed his own philosophy through his poems, and that philosophy was based on his engagement with Kant. In a letter to his friend Korner Schiller wrote:

> Certainly no mortal man has ever spoken a greater word than this Kantian one, which represents the content of his whole philosophy: Determine yourself out of yourself.[67]

It is this capacity to 'Determine yourself out of yourself' that is expressed so strongly in Schiller's own poems and which can also be seen developing through the poems of the EJB notebook.

Madame de Staël said of Schiller that he was 'the first disciple of Kant who has applied his philosophy to literature',[68] and certainly there is evidence that Schiller's works formed part of the Brontë sisters' education in Brussels. Charlotte's Belgian exercise books contain translations of Schiller's poetry into English and French,[69] but unfortunately none of Emily's exercise books has survived.[70] Charlotte also quotes from Schiller's play 'Die Rauber' in *Jane Eyre*,[71] and from his ballad, 'Des Mädchens Klage', in *Villette*.[72]

From September 1842 to August 1843 *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* ran a series of the 'Poems and Ballads of Schiller' translated, and with a commentary, by Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer-Lytton. This series began while Emily was still in Brussels but would have continued for a further nine months after her return.

Among the Schiller poems that appeared in *Blackwood's* is one called 'Die Worte des Glaubens', which Bulwer-Lytton translates as 'The Words of Belief'.[73] The first stanza of the poem is translated as:

> Three Words will I name thee – around and about,
> From the lip to the lip, full of meaning, they flee;
> But they had not their birth in the being without,

---

[67] Friedrich Schiller, to Körner, quoted in Ashton (1980), p.36.
[68] De Staël (1813), p.250.
[69] One of these exercise books, headed: 'Cahier d' Translations from English to German à M. Ch. Brontë, Bruxelles May 1843' is now in the BPM as part of the Bonnell Collection. Although the title suggests that the translations are from English to German, the translations are actually from German to English.
[70] Nine of Emily's Belgian 'devoirs' are extant. See Charlotte and Emily Brontë, *The Belgian Essays*, ed. and trans. Sue Lonoff (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp.371-373 for a list of MS locations.
[71] Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.337.
[72] Charlotte Brontë, *Villette* (Ware: Wordsworth, 1993), p.284.
[73] Friedrich Schiller, 'The Words of Belief', trans. by Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (*Blackwood's*), Vol. 53, February 1843, pp.171-172.

> And the heart, not the lip, must their oracle be!
> And all worth in the man shall for ever be o'er
> When in those Three Words he believes no more,[74]

The third and fourth lines of the final stanza are:

> Yet they take not their birth from the being without –
> But a voice from within must their oracle be;[75]

Here is the concept of *a priori* knowledge in a form that Emily Brontë would most certainly have been able to access. But the translation itself is not ideal. Shelley criticizes what he calls 'the vanity of translation' in 'A Defence of Poetry':

> […] it were as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must spring again from its seed, or it will bear no flower -[76]

This is particularly relevant in respect to the Bulwer-Lytton translation of Schiller. Bulwer-Lytton has attempted to create rhymes within his translation with the result that the verse is tortured and the meaning obscured. This effect, and certainly the need to have recourse to the original version of the poems, must have been apparent to Emily whose very recent education had probably included Schiller's works.

There is one volume of *Schiller's Sämmtliche Werke in Zwölf Banden* among the books that belonged to the Brontë family in the Brontë Parsonage Museum. The volume, which was published in Stuttgart in 1838, is the part of the complete works which contains the entire poems of Schiller.[77]

Charlotte and Emily left Brussels in November 1842 when their Aunt Branwell died. Emily remained at Haworth, but Charlotte returned to Brussels in January 1843. This time she stayed for almost a year, and during that time she recommenced German lessons with Mddle Mühl. In December 1843 when she was planning to leave, she wrote to Emily that she needed to draw a further £5 cash because: 'there are several little things I should like to buy before I leave Brussels – which you know cannot be got as well in England - £3 would not suffice.'[78] It is not certain, but I suspect that the Schiller book was one of those things. The date of

---

[74] Bulwer-Lytton, trans., *Blackwood's* (February 1843), p.172.
[75] Ibid.
[76] P.B. Shelley, 'A Defence of Poetry', *English Critical Essays: Nineteenth Century*, ed. Edmund D. Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916), p.127.
[77] Friedrich Schiller, *Sämmtliche Werke in Zwölf Banden: Erste Band* (Stuttgart und Tübingen: I. G. Cottaf'chen Buchhandling, 1838). Copy now in the BPM.
[78] Charlotte to Emily Brontë, 19 December 1843, Smith, ed. (1995), p.339.

publication fits with the timescale, and in 1843 it would very likely be easier to buy a German book that had been printed in Germany, in Brussels, than to buy it in England. Charlotte's use of Schiller in her own writing suggests her engagement with his work. If she did return with the book, then Emily would have had access to a German version of the poems to work alongside the Bulwer-Lytton translation, and would have been able to make her own, more direct translation. Shelley's words may still hold true, but to have been able to make her own translation, without using the third-party version provided by Bulwer-Lytton, would have enabled Emily to remain closer to Schiller's original meaning.

Charlotte returned to Haworth in January 1844 and if, as I suspect, she brought the Schiller book home with her, then Emily would have been in a position to begin to engage with the poems, and to consider the effect that they would have on her own developing philosophy by 10 February 1844 when she composed 'My Comforter'.

The examination so far gives answers to three of the questions asked previously. The 'latent thought' is what is described in Kantian terms as *a priori* knowledge or understanding. It was already within, although as yet unacknowledged, and was not acquired externally. It must, however, be remembered that Emily Brontë may not have been familiar with the term *a priori*. It is the concept, as described in Schiller's poem, that I suggest she understood. The 'Comforter', whose words roused awareness of the latent thought was likely to be Schiller, who spoke to Emily through his poetry.

This is the point at which to consider EJB 23, 'How clear she shines! How quietly', which will help to answer the fourth question of why the renewed knowledge of the light within enabled the poet to withstand the hopelessness of the world around. This poem was written on 13 April 1843, five months after Emily returned from Brussels. It is placed after 'My Comforter' in the notebook because it supports and develops the revelation expressed in EJB 22, and yet it was written ten months earlier.

In the poem the poet is preparing to sleep, and invites 'Fancy' to enable her to dream. The dream allows her to leave behind the 'Dark world', which is described in similar terms to the surrounding world of 'My Comforter':

> The world is going – Dark world adieu!
> Grim world, go hide thee till the day;[79]

[79] Emily Brontë, 'How clear she shines! How quietly', 13 April 1843.

In this poem Emily directs her own understanding to comprehend both space and time. The crucial word used here is 'think'. She 'thinks' time:

> I'll think the heaven of glorious spheres
> Is rolling on its course of light
> In endless bliss, through endless years –

And then she 'thinks' space:

> I'll think, there's not one world above,
> Far as these straining eyes can see,
> Where Wisdom ever laughed at Love –
> Or Virtue crouched to Infamy –

It is important to note that she is directing her own thoughts here, and she expresses her ability, in directing her thoughts, to use them to overcome her despair at the hopelessness of the world, and to imagine better places.[80]

What is not suggested in this poem is the 'latent thought' or the concept of *a priori* knowledge, and perhaps this is because at the time of composition, she had not had the opportunity to make her own in-depth examination of Schiller. It seems that initially this poem stood alone. It was not supported by her independent reading.

After having had the opportunity to read Schiller's poems in the original German, I speculate that Emily was in a position to develop her own concept of the knowledge that was already within. 'How clear she shines! How quietly' (EJB 23) was written ten months before 'My Comforter' (EJB 22), and I suggest that its earlier composition provides evidence that when she came to write EJB 22 she had already had an intuition of her capacity to direct her thoughts to lift herself above the hopelessness of the world. EJB 23 serves two purposes. It is evidence to the poet herself that innate knowledge exists, but it is also the way to take forward the exploration of a philosophy that began with 'My Comforter'. It now no longer stands alone, but forms a pair with EJB 22, and is the first poem in the forward development of the ideas that began in the notebook with 'My Comforter'.

I have called EJB 22 the progenitor of the entire notebook, and certainly it does form the structural crux. But perhaps the birth of the ideas of the notebook, as yet unformed, actually stems from the composition of EJB 23. Certainly, the two

[80] This ability to 'think' once established in the EJB notebook was then available to be used in her wider work. Emily developed her ideas about the capacity to 'think' in 'Silent is the House', a poem from the Gondal notebook composed on 9 October 1845. Here the main character attempts to 'think' herself into death to escape imprisonment and enter eternity. In this case she is not successful and the chain of the flesh pulls her back to reality.

poems are closely related and they support each other in the exposition of Emily's philosophy as it stands at this point.[81]

It was after the composition of 'My Comforter' on 10 February 1844, and the decision to pair it with 'How clear she shines!' that Emily must have decided to collect together the twenty-one poems that precede these two in the notebook. It is now important to consider what in her thought and reading, and in the intellectual zeitgeist, may have influenced this decision, and to consider why she choose the poems that she did.

An *a priori* Work

Between 1798 and 1800 the brothers August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel published three volumes of a periodical called *Athenæum*, which, as well as containing works by the Schlegel brothers included writings by Baron Friedrich von Hardenburg, also known as Novalis, and by the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher. The final volume appeared in 1800 and carried a work by Friedrich Schlegel called *Dialogue on Poetry*.[82]

Madame de Staël referred to the Schlegel brothers in her previously mentioned French work, *On Germany*, in 1813. She said:

> Among the younger writers Schiller and the two Schlegels have shown themselves far superior to all the other critics.[83]

So it is possible that Constantin Heger would have been familiar with the work of the Schlegel brothers, particularly as Friedrich Schlegel converted to Catholicism in the early nineteenth century, and a revised version of the *Dialogue*, reflecting his faith, was published in his *Sämmtliche Werke* of 1822-25.[84]

Friedrich Schlegel was also the subject of an anonymous article which appeared in *Blackwood's* in September 1843. The author said:

---

[81] The appended transcription of the EJB notebook reproduces Emily's dividing lines between poems, and it is significant that EJB 22 and 23 are apparently carefully separated from the preceding and succeeding poems. They have been made to form a visual as well as a conceptual suite. 'My Comforter' is separated from the preceding poem, EJB 21, by two sets of three lines, and 'How clear she shines! How quietly' is separated from the following poem, EJB 24, by three sets of three lines. EJB 22 and 23 are only separated from each other by one set of two lines. Figures 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 show how Emily placed these poems on pages 18 – 20 of the notebook.

[82] Friedrich Schlegel, *Dialogue on Poetry and Literary Aphorisms*, Translated, introduced and annotated by Ernst Behler and Roman Struc (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968), pp.4-5.

[83] De Staël (1813), p.250.

[84] Behler and Struc, ed. (1968), p.48.

> But was Frederick Schlegel merely a critic? No! He was a philosopher also, and not a vulgar one; and herein lies the foundation of his fame.[85]

Emily would most likely have seen this article on her return from Brussels two months later, and as with the *Blackwood's* articles on Schiller it could have served to give emphasis to the ideas to which I speculate that she had been introduced at the Pensionnat.

By his own admission, Friedrich Schlegel was an 'Idealist' philosopher. Idealism had developed in Germany from Kant's original philosophy in the late eighteenth-century. It asserted the vital importance of the mind and the imagination, and it considered that there is spirit within every entity. Schlegel's philosophy was closely allied to his view of himself as a writer and critic. He had what may be described as a philosophical approach to literature. Whereas Schiller was more directly a philosopher-poet and so used his poetry to express philosophy, Schlegel was a theorist and commented on the power of poetry to contain and to develop philosophy. According to the *Blackwood's* article the Schlegels and Schiller were not always in agreement. It said: 'Schiller never loved them [the Schlegels]: hated them rather;'[86] but certainly there are close agreements between the thought of Schiller and that of Friedrich Schlegel.

To Schiller the knowledge within was one which led to God, to liberty and to virtue. To Schlegel:

> We are able to perceive the music of the universe and to understand the beauty of the poem because a part of the poet, a spark of his creative spirit, lives in us and never ceases to glow with secret force deep under the ashes of our self-induced unreason.[87]

We could construe from this that Schlegel might be Emily Brontë's 'Comforter', but the content of EJB 22 and 23 shows a closer concern with the lack of virtue in the world, and the imaginative freedom to rise above it, than it does with the poetic ability to express it, and so I think that the original Comforter is more closely allied to Schiller than to Schlegel.

Schlegel's ideas did, however, correspond to what I see as Emily's purpose in her sequencing of the EJB notebook. The *Dialogue on Poetry*, which had first appeared in the *Athenæum*, is constructed as a work in which a group of friends agree to explore their own views of poetry. Each will prepare an essay to be read to

---

[85] Anonymous article, 'Frederick Schlegel', *Blackwood's*, Vol. 54, September 1843, pp.311-318 (p.312).
[86] Anonymous article, 'Friedrich Schlegel', *Blackwood's* (Sept. 1843), p.311.
[87] F. Schlegel, Behler and Struc, ed. (1968), p.54.

the others, and the group will then discuss what has been read. There are four essays, each followed by a dialogue between the friends.

The section of the *Dialogue* which, in my view, coincides with Emily's selection of her earlier poems to precede 'My Comforter' in the notebook, forms part of the dialogue following an essay on 'The Different Styles in Goethe's Early and Late Works.'[88] The friends discuss the importance of there being a firm foundation for poetry and for poetical works, and they remind one another of the philosophical model to which they must adhere. The following dialogue ensues:

> ANTONIO: Therefore we can now wish nothing more but that we may find in ourselves ideas for poems and then the laudable ability to create according to these ideas.
> LUDOVICO: Do you perhaps consider it impossible to construct future poems *a priori*?
> ANTONIO: Give me ideas for poems and I make bold to give this ability to you.[89]

In terms of the philosophy that is being followed, one of the most significant phrases in this extract is 'that we may find in ourselves', and it is in response to this, the notion that the ideas are already within, that Ludovico replies with the question about the possibility of constructing 'future poems *a priori*'. This is not an easy concept, but it is one to which I think Emily Brontë's creation of her EJB notebook equates. The idea is that future poems should be based on *a priori* knowledge, or in the case of the notebook, on the 'latent thought'. The only way to make clear that the future poems are based on *a priori* is to include previously written poems in the work that provide evidence that an element of the philosophy expressed in the later poems was already present within the poet, albeit possibly unrecognised. These early poems would also contain threads that would connect to developing ideas within the future poems.

In creating what I will term as her own *a priori* work[90] Emily made use of previously written poems, and in doing so her work once more concurs with Schlegel, who said of ancient poetry:

> Why should what has once been not come alive again? In a different way, to be sure. And why not in a more beautiful, a greater way?[91]

---

[88] F. Schlegel, Behler and Struc, ed. (1968), pp.106-117.
[89] Ibid, p.116.
[90] Although, as I have said, Emily Brontë might not have been familiar with this specific term, the concept was a part of her contemporary intellectual zeitgeist and defines accurately the idea behind her 'latent thought'. I will, therefore, use this term in relation to the poems that she chose to precede 'My Comforter' (EJB 22) in the notebook.
[91] F. Schlegel, Behler and Struc, ed. (1968), p.82.

It will become apparent that several of the poems that make up the *a priori* group were probably originally written for a different purpose, and that they have become alive again in the creation of the EJB notebook.

EJB 1 – 21: An *a priori* Journey

It is now necessary to define the exact situation described by EJB 22 and 23, and as a consequence to reveal the 'latent thought' implied there. Crucially, EJB 22 recognises that the words that the poet had read describe an awareness that was already latent within her; and 23 goes on to explain how the awareness of that knowledge could be harnessed to lift her thought above the darkness of the world. In fact, how knowledge of her inner strength can grant her the spiritual, imaginative, and intellectual freedom for which she already had the previously unrecognised capacity. EJB 23 also describes in detail the misery of the world from which she wishes release. The poems that she chose from her canon to support this should now be examined; and the part that each plays, both as evidence of her *a priori* understanding, and as a reference to a part of either EJB 22 or 23, must be recognised and understood.

In EJB 23 Emily harnesses her imagination, which at this point she calls 'Fancy', to think and to dream herself above the despair of the world. The first two poems of the notebook, EJB 1 and 2, describe a similar engagement of imaginative powers to enable escape from an unsatisfactory situation. The fact that these poems were composed over five years earlier shows that the capacity for imaginative release had already been 'intuited'. The first poem, 'Loud without the wind was roaring' (EJB 1) opens on a wild, wet November evening, but the words of an 'ancient song' remind the poet of the moors in the spring, and she is able to imagine herself away from her miserable surroundings to the sunshine and skylark song of the moors. Equally, in EJB 2, 'A little while, a little while', written on 4 December 1838, she chooses to think herself away from what is probably the room in which she taught at Law Hill School. She is able both to imagine herself away and to decide where she will go to in her imagination, prefiguring the decision to 'think' expressed in EJB 23:

> Where wilt thou go my harassed heart?
> Full many a land invites thee now;
> And places near, and far apart
> Have rest for thee, my weary brow-[92]

[92] E. Brontë, 'A little while, a little while', 4 December 1838.

These two poems have in common the fact that imaginative escape from misery takes the poet to somewhere else on earth, somewhere familiar, where the presence of nature is a comfort.

The following two poems have a superficially similar theme in that they focus on nature. But a closer reading reveals a subtle change, an insidious unease which diminishes the solace of nature. 'How still, how happy! those are words', also begins in winter, and although the poet is appreciative of the winter landscape, she admits that she 'could' think that she may see signs of spring within the withered foliage. But she decides against it:

> It is but thought – full many a night
> The snow shall clothe those hills afar
> And Storms shall add a drearier blight
> And winds shall wage a wilder war[93]

Here the engagement of imagination would not truly overcome the death and decay of winter. She could imagine that spring is coming, but there is no point because winter and its inherent destruction will hold sway for many months yet. In EJB 4, 'The blue bell is the sweetest flower', this theme is explored in more detail. There is no question of engaging thought or fancy to recreate the spring flowering of the 'blue bell'. The flower would have the power to soothe her spirit - but it cannot do that because the winter has killed it. Death, and the intrinsic mortality within nature, is the motif here. The power of 'Death the despot' of EJB 23, its effect on the earth, and on the previously comforting face of nature has become apparent.

In EJB 5, 'Fair sinks the summer evening now', written on 30 August 1839, it is no longer winter, and the evening is beautiful:

> Fair sinks the summer evening now
> In softened glory round my home;
> The sky upon its holy brow
> Wears not a cloud that speaks of gloom-[94]

But the beauty of the natural environment is not sufficient to cheer the speaker. She is unhappy because she misses friends or family, and the loveliness of nature is not enough to provide solace:

> In vain – they will not come today
> And morning's beam will rise as drear
> Then tell me – are they gone for aye

[93] E. Brontë, 'How still, how happy! those are words', 7 December 1838.
[94] E. Brontë, 'Fair sinks the summer evening now', 30 August 1839.

Our sun blinks through the mists of care?[95]

This 'natural' or 'earth' suite is followed by two poems whose transcription carries its own slight mystery. EJB 6, 'Shall Earth no more inspire thee', is headed by a figure 2, and the following poem, EJB 7, 'In summer's mellow midnight', is headed by a number 1.[96] Derek Roper has suggested that these inserted numbers imply a post-transcription decision to reverse the order of these poems.[97] This seems logical, particularly when the poems are read in the context of the notebook. Nevertheless, I think that the numbering could also provide an alternative ordering, rather than a revised one. By this I mean that both orders may be correct depending on the context within which they are read. The complex connections between the poems make sense of both orders of reading.

'Shall Earth no more inspire thee' is written in the voice of Nature, and begins:

Shall Earth no more inspire thee,
Thou lonely dreamer now?
Since passion may not fire thee
Shall Nature cease to bow?

Thy mind is ever moving
In regions dark to thee;
Recall its useless roving –
Come back and dwell with me-[98]

The transcription of this poem after the three that describe an increasing disillusionment with nature is plausible, but with a reading of the following poem, EJB 7, 'In summer's mellow midnight', the possible purpose of the numbers 1 and 2 becomes apparent. In EJB 7 the protagonist, sitting by an open window at midnight, is addressed by the wind which tries to lure her to follow it. The poet refuses:

I said, "go gentle singer,
"Thy wooing voice is kind
"But do not think its music
"Has power to reach my mind-[99]

---

[95] Ibid.
[96] 'In summer's mellow midnight' is also headed 'The Night Wind' on the photograph of the holograph. This seems to be in Emily Brontë's handwriting but is fainter than the rest of the poem, which implies that it was added at a later date. As the holograph itself is not available for study it is not possible to tell whether the title was added in pen or pencil. The poem is headed 'The Night-Wind' by Charlotte in 1850. There is no sign of the hyphen between Night and Wind on the holograph.
[97] Roper, ed. (1995), p.15.
[98] E. Brontë, 'Shall Earth no more inspire thee', 16 May 1841.
[99] E. Brontë, 'In summer's mellow midnight', 11 September 1840.

This describes the importance of mind and thought, as opposed to the sensations provided by nature. But the wind continues to press:

> "O come," it sighed so sweetly
> "I'll win thee 'gainst thy will-
>
> "Have we not been from childhood friends?
> "Have I not loved thee long?
> "As long as though hast loved the night
> "Whose silence wakes my song?
>
> "And when thy heart is laid at rest[100]
> "Beneath the church-yard stone
> "I shall have time enough to mourn
> "And thou to be alone"-[101]

If this poem is read before EJB 6, it reinforces Nature's suggestion that the poet is no longer inspired by Earth. The 'regions dark' in which Nature suggests that the poet's mind is moving, can be interpreted as the realms of thought, which she has preferred over the natural sensations offered by the night-wind. It seems likely that it was this consideration that led Emily to add the numbers above the two poems after transcription.

But there is also a case for retaining the original ordering of the poems. 'Shall Earth no more inspire thee' provides a direct link with EJB 5, the preceding poem, when the voice of the Earth, in describing the evidence for the continuing love of the poet for nature says:

> When day with evening blending
> Sinks from the summer sky,
> I've seen thy spirit bending
> In fond[102] idolatry-[103]

This statement suggests the opening lines of the previous poem; an association which demonstrates the way in which the poems that Emily selected and sequenced for her *a priori* exposition show a progressive evolution of ideas. The ideas were already within, but she has presented them in such a way as to ensure that together they form a logical progression.

'In summer's mellow midnight' ends with the wind's suggestion that once the poet is dead and buried she will be alone and no longer able to hear its voice,

---

[100] See appended transcription for the alternative reading of this stanza.
[101] Ibid. See appended transcription for alternative reading of the final stanza.
[102] It is important to note here that (again with reference to the previous poem EJB 5, in which she says: 'Departed joys 'tis fond to mourn') Emily uses the word 'fond' to mean 'foolish' rather than as a term of affection.
[103] E. Brontë, 'Shall Earth no more inspire thee,' 16 May 1841.

thereby strengthening the developing impression of death as the despot, the entity that puts an end to blossoming of any kind. This leads into the following poem, EJB 8, 'Riches I hold in light esteem', which summarises the poet's dissatisfaction with the world, directly addresses the concept of death as an end, and contains the first cry for liberty. This connection gives meaning to the original order of the poems. I think therefore, that the numbers above 6 and 7 should be taken as an indication that the poems may be read in their original order, but that, by reading them in the new order, they emphasise a different aspect of the developing notebook.

The position of EJB 8 within the notebook provides a link between the earlier recognition of death and the potential for that death to provide liberty for the soul. The poem was given the title of 'The Old Stoic' in the 1846 edition, and as previously described, Margaret Maison suggests that it provides some of the evidence that Emily was aware of the works of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus.[104] The appearance of the poem at this stage in the notebook is an example of Emily's re-use of her verse. The title that she gave the poem in 1846 supports Maison's suggestion that there was originally a link between 'Riches I hold in light esteem' and Epictetus, but the title does not appear in the EJB notebook, which indicates that the purpose of the poem is different in this context. This provides an insight, not only into Emily's way of working, but also into the reasons behind her methods. It seems that by her painstaking dating of her poems, and her re-use of them in different contexts, she was recording and retaining her own intellectual history. Perhaps it was important to her to know that at one time in her life 'Riches I hold in light esteem' signified an engagement with the works of Epictetus, and that later (in February 1844), it became indicative of her *a priori* desire for liberty. The title 'The Old Stoic', given in 1846, and the placing of the untitled poem within the EJB notebook in 1844, certainly suggests this.

There is a conceptual connection between this poem and Schiller's poem 'The Words of Belief'.[105] The Bulwer Lytton version of Schiller's poem that appeared in *Blackwood's* translates the line relating to the second of the three words of belief as: 'Man is made FREE! – Man, by birthright, is free'.[106] But 'frei' in Schiller's original version has also been, slightly inaccurately, translated as 'liberty'. In his 1875 translation Edgar A. Bowring gives the same line as: 'For LIBERTY, man is created, - *is* free,'.[107] If, as I think likely, Emily was relying on her own translation of the poem, rather than on that of Bulwer-Lytton, she may have considered the overall

[104] Maison (1978).
[105] 'Belief' can also be translated as 'Faith'.
[106] Bulwer Lytton, trans. *Blackwood's* (Feb. 1843), p.172.
[107] Friedrich Schiller, *The Poems of Schiller*, translated by Edgar A. Bowring, C.B., M.P. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1875), pp.257-258.

meaning of the stanza, which goes on to describe freedom from chains. Although the literal translation of liberty is 'freiheit', which Schiller does not use, the actual meaning of 'liberty' is freedom from constraint, and this is what is described in Schiller's poem. It would, therefore, be understandable for both Bowring, and Emily Brontë, to introduce the word 'liberty' into their translations. The connection between the Schiller poem and 'Riches I hold in light esteem', is indeed conceptual, rather than literal. By transcribing her previously written plea for liberty here, Emily was emphasising her *a priori* understanding of its importance to her. This is of particular significance if we accept that it was from an engagement with 'The Words of Belief' that Emily first understood *a priori* intuition.

The introduction of the concept of liberty in EJB 8 begins a new phase in the notebook. The poem that follows is: 'Aye there it is! It wakes to night' (EJB 9), in which 'fancy' enables the soul to gain freedom:

> And I can tell by thine altered cheek
> And by thy kindled gaze
> And by the word thou scarece dost speak,
> How wildly fancy plays-[108]

'Fancy' allows the subject of the poem the liberty of a pure 'principle of life'. Through liberation it can become a 'universal influence' beyond the constraints of the human body. Fancy has achieved complete freedom of the soul. The final stanza says:

> Thus truely when that breast is cold
> Thy prisoned soul shall rise
> The Dungeon mingle with the mould-
> The captive with the skies-[109]

This means that, as it was imagined here, so it will be after death. The poem demonstrates the *a priori* notion that by the power of thought the soul or spirit can achieve the liberty that was demanded in EJB 8.

EJB 9 closed with the idea that death would lead to the liberty that had been prefigured by 'fancy'. The following poem, 'I'll not weep that thou are going to leave me' (EJB 10), was composed in May 1840 and was probably originally written as a Gondal poem. In January 1840 Emily had written 'Thy sun is near meridian height' which was a soliloquy by Ferdinand de Samara addressed to A.G.A. when he was dying. It is likely that 'I'll not weep' was written as A.G.A.'s response to Ferdinand. But it has been transcribed within the EJB notebook for a different purpose. In its

[108] E. Brontë, 'Aye there it is! It wakes tonight', 6 July 1841.
[109] Ibid.

new context it describes a preference for death and the liberty that it brings, over the 'dark world' experienced by the living. In its new place in the notebook the poem emphasises the poet's *a priori* knowledge of the 'dark world' described in EJB 22 and 23. In this poem Emily says:

> I'll not weep that thou art going to leave me
> There's nothing lovely here,
> And doubly will the dark world greive me
> While thy heart suffers there-[110]

This prefigures the words of 'How clear she shines! How quietly' (EJB 23), in which Emily says: 'The world is going - Dark world adieu! | Grim world, go hide thee till the day;'.[111]

The following three poems: EJB 11, 12, and 13, form a suite. They each deplore the loss of something beloved which is variously described as, 'mine angel',[112]'O Dream',[113]'Lost vision!',[114] and 'Thy darling shade'.[115] Contextually these refer to the loss of 'fancy', or of the ability to direct it, which in turn leads to the loss of liberty.

In EJB 14, 'The wind I hear it sighing', the poet reconsiders the sentiments of 'In summer's mellow midnight' (EJB 7). The previous three poems have lamented the loss, or retreat, of 'fancy', and here she seeks the old comfort of nature and the voice of the wind. But it has lost its capacity for comfort. Because of maturity and increased understanding, she is no longer receptive to the voice of nature as a comfort:

> 'Tis like old age pretending
> The softness of a child,
> My altered hardened spirit bending
> To meet their fancies wild[116]

She concludes that her dearest treasures, in the form of fancy, have died, but that if they could be used as barter:

> O then another daybreak
> Might haply dawn above-
> Another summer gild my cheek,

---

[110] E. Brontë, 'I'll not weep that thou art going to leave me', 4 May 1840.
[111] E. Brontë, 13 April 1843.
[112] E. Brontë, 'If grief for grief can touch thee', 18 May 1840.
[113] E. Brontë, 'O Dream, where art thou now?' 5 November 1838.
[114] E. Brontë, 'O Dream, where art thou now?' 5 November 1838.
[115] E. Brontë, 'It is too late to call thee now-', April 1840.
[116] E. Brontë, 'The wind I hear it sighing', 29 October 1839.

My Soul, another love-[117]

But the following poem immediately disputes the wisdom of wishing for another love. EJB 15, 'Love is like the wild rose briar,'`[118] is unusual in being one of only twelve poems left undated by Emily throughout her entire canon.[119] The poem describes the transient nature of love when compared to friendship, but again it uses the device of the mortality inherent in nature. Love is a wild rose which dies back in winter, whereas friendship is the evergreen holly. But the following poem, EJB 16, 'There should be no despair for you', again undated, suggests that grief for seasonal death is misplaced as leaves die in autumn and yet they grow again the following year: 'Yet they revive – and from their fate | Your fate can not be parted',[120] implying that the mortal fate of humanity is mirrored by nature. These two poems contain a dialectic that continues throughout the notebook and only reaches a conclusion in the final poem. In their present position, they complete the *a priori* discourse on both the loss of 'fancy' and of the poet's capacity to direct the imagination, whilst they continue to explore the concept of mortality. The directing, and then the subsequent loss of 'fancy', has formed an important part of the *a priori* exploration. This will be seen to be fundamental to the continued development of the imagination in the poems that succeed EJB 22 and 23.

There is a potential significance in the fact that these two poems are undated. There are twelve undated poems extant, and of these, ten were written on loose-leaf MSS.[121] EJB 15 and 16 are the only undated poems to be included, by Emily, in a transcript book. Several of the other undated poems are fragments, but these two are complete. It is conjectural, but possible, that Emily composed these poems specifically for inclusion in the notebook at this point. Together, they conclude the sequence of poems on the loss of 'fancy' by hinting that fancy is not lost forever, and so there should not be despair at the poet's inability to call it up at will. This hint sets the scene for the re-emergence of fancy in EJB 23.

The next three poems deal more directly with the concept of 'Death the despot' from EJB 23. From EJB 3 onwards there has been a developing awareness of earthly mortality, and in EJB 17 – 19 it becomes the central theme.

EJB 17, '"Well, some may hate and some may scorn', and EJB 18, 'Far, far away is mirth withdrawn;' were almost certainly originally written as Gondal poems.

---

[117] Ibid.
[118] This poem was given the title 'Love and Friendship' by Charlotte Brontë in 1850.
[119] Janet Gezari lists thirteen undated poems, but one of these, 'What winter floods what showers of spring', is included in the list because Gezari questions the accuracy of the date on the holograph. Gezari, ed. (1992), p.282.
[120] E. Brontë, 'There should be no despair for you', undated.
[121] These MSS passed to T.J. Wise and subsequently moved to America (see Figure 1).

But in their present context they describe the pain and suffering that death can cause for the people left alive. They are followed by 'I see around me tombstones grey' (EJB 19), which is a soliloquy on death and its effects on humanity.
EJB 19 is unusual among the EJB poems in that it is not divided into stanzas. It contains forty-six continuous lines, but these can be grouped thematically. The first ten lines describe the poet walking through a graveyard: 'Beneath the turf my footsteps tread | Lie low and lone the silent dead-'[122] She describes how: '[…] Time and Death and Mortal pain | Give wounds that will not heal again-'.[123] This part of the poem is directly linked to the two preceding it in that it reiterates the pain of mortality for the people who are still alive. It is also here that the character of 'Time' makes an *a priori* appearance, presaging its importance in the post-Comforter poems.

The following fourteen lines begin with a reference to the misery on earth, which prefigures both EJB 22 and 23: 'Let me remember half the woe | I've seen and heard and felt below'.[124] The poem then goes on to consider a concept which was touched on in 'My Comforter' but has not yet made an appearance in the *a priori* poems, that of Emily's disillusionment with accepted religious dogma and creeds. In 'My Comforter' the speaker was surrounded, among other things by: 'wretches uttering praise',[125] and here is a description of the worthlessness of the accepted idea of heaven to the people who are actually suffering on earth:

> Sweet land of light! Thy children fair
> Know nought akin to our despair-
> Nor have they felt, nor can they tell
> What tenants haunt each mortal cell
> What gloomy guests we hold within-
> Torments and madness, tears and sin!
> Well – may they live in extacy
> Their long eternity of joy;[126]

This expresses the belief that there is no common ground between the inhabitants of a perceived heaven and the reality of Earth. It is the first appearance of an idea that will recur throughout the remaining poems of the notebook. Emily's personal religion is not yet fully formed at this point, but this poem indicates that it will not develop in the direction propounded by the creed with which she has been raised.

This concludes the poems that were composed before Emily went to Brussels. Of the two final poems in the *a priori* section, EJB 20, 'The evening

[122] E. Brontë, 'I see around me tombstones grey', 17 July 1841.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] E. Brontë, 'My Comforter', 10 February 1844.
[126] E. Brontë, 17 July 1841.

passes fast away' was begun in Brussels in October 1842 and completed in Haworth in February 1843. The last poem of this section, 'Hope was but a timid Friend-', was written on 18 December 1843.

EJB 20, which takes the form of a dialogue, begins where EJB 19 ends, at the brink of death. Of the two voices in the poem, one is of a person near to death and the other is asking for their feelings at that time:[127]

> The evening passes fast away,
> Tis almost time to rest-
> What thoughts has left the vanished day?
> What feelings – in thy breast?[128]

The second voice, that of the one near death, replies:

> "The vanished day? It leaves a sense
> "Of labour hardly done-
> "Of little gained with vast expense-
> "-A sense of greif alone-"[129]

These are sentiments that foreshadow the 'Life a labour void and brief-' of EJB 23.

This poem and the final one of this section, 'Hope was but a timid Friend-' (EJB 21), both use personification of concepts including 'Time'. 'Death', 'Conscience' and 'Hope', which are reminiscent of the essay 'Le Palais de la Mort', written by Emily, for Heger on 18 October 1842.[130] This was five days before she began 'The evening passes fast away'.

The final *a priori* poem: 'Hope was but a timid Friend-' returns once more to the final stanza of EJB 23. The poem uses the imprisonment motif of 'the grated den' beyond which Hope sat; but Hope had no capacity for comfort:

> Like a false guard false whach keeping
> Still in strife she wispered, peace
> She would sing while I was weeping,
> If I listened, she would cease-'[131]

This is the voice of the 'prisoned soul' which was first described in EJB 9, 'Aye there it is! It wakes tonight'. It has still not achieved the liberty of which it had a glimpse and then lost sight. In this poem Hope sat outside the soul's prison and then:

---

[127] This poem was headed 'Self-Interrogation' in 1846, which suggests that the two voices are intended to represent different aspects of the same personality.
[128] E. Brontë, 'The evening passes fast away,' 23 October 1842 – 6 February 1843.
[129] E. Brontë, 'The evening passes fast away,' 23 October 1842 – 6 February 1843.
[130] Lonoff, ed. (1996), pp.224-231.
[131] E. Brontë, 'Hope was but a timid Friend-', 18 December 1843.

'Stretched her wings and soared to heaven- | Went – and ne'er returned again!'[132] Thus fulfilling its description as: 'Hope a phantom of the soul-'[133] in EJB 23, and also presaging the condition of the soul in 'My Comforter': '-What my soul bore, my soul alone | Within its self may tell-'.[134]

This concludes the *a priori* part of the notebook. The poet has fully recognised the hopelessness of the world and the mortality of the human condition. She fleetingly achieved liberty through her direction of 'fancy', but then lost that capacity and has now been deserted by 'Hope'.

Future Poems

Schlegel's character Ludovico asked whether it was possible to 'construct future poems *a priori*?'[135] and the first part of the notebook represents Emily's attempt to create what can be termed an *a priori* context for the poems that were to explore her developing philosophy – the poems that illustrate her awareness of her 'latent thought'. This is the first step in creating future poems *a priori*. Emily's consistent dating strategy makes it absolutely clear that the poems, EJB 24 – 31 were all composed after both composition and transcription of the first two-thirds of the notebook. The *a priori* poems not only provide evidence of the latent thought, the knowledge that was already within the poet when she heard the words of the Comforter, but they also provide threads and connecting ideas that continue to develop throughout the rest of the notebook. The fallacy of the suggestion that the later poems were ordered arbitrarily becomes even more apparent when we recognise both the development of these ideas, and the strategies that Emily employed in creating her philosophical picture. There is evidence within the latter part of the notebook that these poems do not only represent connecting ideas, but that, as with the *a priori* section, they form a fully planned, coherent whole. With one exception, the 'future' poems were transcribed consecutively, in order of composition.[136] But I consider that the intellectual and the philosophical content of these poems were planned before composition, and that Emily knew what she intended to achieve with this part of the notebook by the time she had collated her *a priori* poems.[137]

---

[132] E. Brontë, 'Hope was but a timid Friend-', 18 December 1843.
[133] E. Brontë, 'How clear she shines! How quietly', 13 April 1843.
[134] E. Brontë, 10 February 1844.
[135] F. Schlegel, Behler and Struc, ed. (1968), p.54.
[136] The order of composition and transcription has been reversed in EJB 28 and 29 which were composed on 14 April and 10 April 1845 respectively.
[137] The validity of this theory is further evidenced by the fact that on page 23 of the notebook, at the beginning of EJB 25, 'When weary with the long day's care' Emily began to use significantly smaller

As well as serving as a reference point for the *a priori* poems, EJB 23 also roots the verse that follows it. This is the pivotal point of the notebook. The *a priori* evidence has been set down, and the development of the philosophy that was based on the 'latent thought' begins. But the poems that follow do not represent a rewriting of a philosophy. The notebook, rather, takes an eclectic approach, exploring philosophical concepts and connected ideas, and synthesising them to form a personal thought system. It is in this sense only that the notebook could be called 'personal'. This becomes apparent as the development of the second part of the notebook is examined.

EJB 23 forms a notional pair with the following poem, EJB 24, which was entitled 'A Day Dream' in 1846[138] and begins: 'On a sunny brae, alone I lay'.[139] EJB 23 describes a night-time dream which was prescribed by the dreamer after requesting Fancy's help. 24 is a day-dream, and the final stanza relates it closely to the preceding poem:

> The music ceased – the noon day Dream
> Like dream of night with drew
> But Fancy still will sometimes deem
> Her fond creation true-[140]

This poem develops her earlier thoughts on the inherent mortality of nature, and it is here that she first explores the possibility that the philosophy that she is exploring can allow her to see beyond mortality. She does not want to participate in the general celebration of spring and early summer because of the mortality innate in the birth of new life:

> And why should we be glad at all?
> The leaf is hardly green
> Before a token of the fall
> Is on its surface seen-[141]

But 'Fancy' enables her to imagine that: '[…] the very breath I breathed | Was full of sparks devine', who sang:

> "O mortal, mortal, let them die-
> "Let Time and Tears destroy

writing, indicating that she knew how much work she needed to fit into the remaining pages. The smaller handwriting continues to the end of the notebook.

[138] On the holograph the title has been added faintly in Emily's writing above the lines that precede the poem.

[139] Emily Brontë, 'On a sunny brae, alone I lay', 3 March 1844.

[140] E. Brontë, 3 March 1844.

[141] E. Brontë, 3 March 1844.

"That we may over flow the sky
"With universal joy-[142]

In a *devoir* written for Heger in August 1842, Emily had described the love of a parent for his or her child as an instinct which is 'a particle of the divine spirit we share with every animal that exists'.[143] In this poem this belief moves closer to that of the Idealist philosophers who believe that there is spirit within every entity that exists. This belief overcomes the mortality in nature, because seasonal death of the plants would lead to liberty for these spirits.

In EJB 20, the poem begun in Brussels, Emily had introduced the personification of 'Time'. In that poem: 'Time stands before the door of Death | Upbraiding bitterly'.[144] 'Time' returns in EJB 24: 'Let Time and Tears destroy', and it is becoming apparent that 'Time' in this personification is closely allied to death and mortality. It is, in fact, the human experience of time, rather than the intuitive *a priori* knowledge of time that goes beyond human experience. For Emily, it is the 'Time' that leads from birth to death. The character of 'Time' returns in later poems and always represents time as bounded by human experience. The *a priori* knowledge of time in the poems from this point onwards is represented by 'Eternity', the 'time' which humanity has not yet experienced and can therefore only know intuitively. It is important to understand that 'Eternity' is never personified and remains an abstract concept. This is probably because personification, or anthropomorphism, links to the mortal and finite.

'Fancy' has been a recurring concept through the poems up to this point. But in EJB 25, 'When weary with the long day's care', Emily makes the conceptual transition from 'Fancy' to 'Imagination'.[145] The poem is addressing 'Imagination' and says: '[…] Truth may rudely trample down | The flowers of fancy newly blown', [146] but in the next stanza continues:

But thou art ever there to bring
The hovering visions back and breathe
New glories o'er the blighted Spring
And call a lovlier life from death
And whisper with a voice divine
Of real worlds as bright as thine[147]

[142] Ibid.
[143] Emily Brontë, 'L'Amour Filial', Lonoff, ed. (1996), pp.156-159.
[144] E. Brontë, 23 October 1842 – 6 February 1843.
[145] This poem is headed, 'To Imagination' in the holograph and in the 1846 edition.
[146] Emily Brontë, 'When weary with the long day's care', 3 September 1844.
[147] Ibid.

This not only provides a seamless link with the previous poem, which was concerned with the potential blighting of spring, but it also defines the fate of 'Fancy'. At the end of EJB 24, 'Fancy' sometimes deemed 'Her fond creation true', but 'Fancy' was not a confident concept. It had vanished for several of the early poems (EJB 10-14) and is now being challenged by 'Truth'. However, 'Imagination' is stronger. It has its birth in the 'latent thought' roused by the Comforter. It is described, but not named, in the second stanza of EJB 22, as the hidden light 'concealed within my soul'.[148] It is strong enough to withstand the external shadows and can give the poet the capacity to see beyond the mortality of nature. EJB 25 summarises the situation so far:

> So hopeless is the world without
> The world within I doubly prize
> Thy world, where guile and hate and doubt
> And cold suspicion never rise-
> Where thou and I and Liberty
> Have undisputed sovereignty.[149]

This differentiation between fancy and imagination bears some relationship to that described by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in his *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge discriminates between what he terms, the primary and secondary imaginations, and fancy. To Coleridge, the primary imagination is the 'living power and prime agent of all human perception'.[150] The secondary is an echo of this but has more consciousness. It is 'vital', and 'struggles to idealize and to unify'.[151] In contrast to imagination, 'fancy' is more concrete. It is 'a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space' and owes its being to the human will. Coleridge's conception of imagination and fancy could be perceived as being of different levels of awareness, with the primary imagination being that of which the possessor is least overtly aware, but which is truly a part of themselves. Fancy is at the level of greatest awareness but has least imaginative power. These interpretations relate to Emily's development from fancy to imagination, in that the primary imagination could describe the latent thought of which the possessor has *a priori* knowledge; whereas fancy is that facility of which she was aware but was sometimes unable to retrieve or to direct.

The following poem, EJB 26, is a continuation of 25. The pair could almost be viewed as two parts of the same poem. It begins with a perceived courtroom

[148] E. Brontë, 10 February 1844.
[149] E. Brontë, 3 September 1844.
[150] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria: or, Biographical sketches of my literary life and opinions (v.1)* (London: R. Fenner, 1817), pp.295-296.
[151] Ibid.

challenge to Imagination by Reason, with the poet demanding that Imagination states the case for its being her choice:

> Stern Reason is to judgement come
> Arrayed in all her forms of gloom;
> Wilt thou my advocate be dumb?
> No radiant angel, speak and say
> Why I did cast the world away:[152]

To understand the place of this poem within the notebook it is necessary to recognise Emily's perception of Reason. Reason and Imagination were examined by Shelley in *A Defence of Poetry*. To him, 'Reason is the enumeration of quantities already known; imagination is the perception of the value of those quantities.'[153] Reason is analysis and Imagination the internal capacity to synthesise the results of the analysis. This understanding of the two concepts complements Emily's treatment in EJB 26. Reason represents the world, in other words, what has been learned through experience; and Imagination is internal, it is the: '[…] ever present, phantom thing. | My slave, my comrade and my King!'[154] And being a slave, it can be inclined: 'to my changeful will'. It is in this poem that Emily first deifies the internal power of Imagination:

> And am I wrong, to worship where
> Faith cannot doubt, nor Hope dispair,
> Since my own soul can grant my prayer?
> Speak God of Visions, Plead for me,
> And tell why I have chosen thee![155]

EJB 27, which was called: 'the strange poem' by Barbara Hardy in 1976[156] has been the subject of much interpretative uncertainty. Hardy suggests that it 'Weighs poetry against philosophy', and Mary Robinson, Emily's first biographer, called it incoherent.[157] However, when read within the context of the entire notebook, it becomes apparent that the poem belongs with EJB 25 and 26. It is the third poem of the suite and employs a dramatic device to illustrate the dialectic between the inner and the outer worlds that has arisen in the previous two poems.

The poem is written as a dialogue between two characters. One is referred to as the Philosopher, and the other as the Seer. The Seer asks the Philosopher:

---

[152] Emily Brontë, 'Oh, thy bright eyes must answer now,' 14 October 1844.
[153] P.B. Shelley, Jones, ed. (1916), p.120.
[154] E. Brontë, 14 October 1844.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Barbara Hardy, 'The Lyricism of Emily Brontë', Smith, ed. (1976), pp.94-118 (pp.114-115).
[157] Robinson (1880), pp.130-132.

'"Space-sweeping soul, what sad refrain | concludes thy musings once again?"'[158] The Philosopher replies with a wish for death, there is nothing in Heaven or Hell that could '"Subdue this quenchless will!"' He describes the three Gods that are warring within him and whose struggles will continue until he dies. The Seer replies:

> "I saw a Spirit standing, Man,
> "Where thou doest stand – an hour ago,
> "And round his feet, three rivers ran
> "Of equal depth and equal flow-
>
> "A Golden Stream, and one like blood
> "And one like Sapphire, seemed to be
> "But where they joined their triple flood
> "It tumbled in an inky sea-
>
> "The Spirit bent his dazzeling gaze
> "Down on that Ocean's gloomy night
> "Then – kindling all with sudden blaze
> "The glad deep sparkled wide and bright
> "White as the sun far, far more fair
> "Than their devided sources were!"[159]

The Philosopher replies that he has been hunting for that Spirit that has the capacity for synthesis throughout his life, and although he has: 'Sought Him in Heaven, Hell, Earth and Air' it has been 'An endless search – and always wrong!' Had he found him he would not have wished for death, but as the search has been in vain he concludes with his wish for oblivion.

The place of this poem in the notebook suggests that the Philosopher's search for the Spirit has always been wrong because he has looked in the wrong places. He has looked in 'Heaven, Hell, Earth and Air', but he has not looked inside himself. This spirit is the 'ever present, phantom thing,' the 'God of Visions' of EJB 26, and returns to Schiller's words about the Kantian philosophy, on which he based his own philosophical poems: 'Determine yourself out of yourself.'[160] The Philosopher had the capacity within himself to synthesise his warring factions, but he never recognised it and so he chose death, reverting to 'Peace the lethargy of grief' one of the attributes of the world described in the final stanza of EJB 23.[161]

In 1829 Thomas Carlyle wrote an essay on Novalis, in which he quoted at length from some of Novalis' works. One extract is from 'Lehrlinge zu Sais' (Pupils

---

[158] Emily Brontë, 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher', 3 February 1845.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Schiller, Ashton (1980), p.36.
[161] The photographs of the holograph show that EJB 27 was originally entitled, 'The Philosopher's conclusion', but the title was edited out of the SHB facsimile (see Chapter Five and Figures 5.3 and 5.4) and has therefore only appeared in Hatfield's edition of the poems, which relied on Davidson Cook's transcript of 1926.

at Sais), and it introduces an allegorical figure. This figure is a teacher who has the capacity to unite and to make intelligible the elements of the world that cause darkness for his pupils. The voice of a pupil describes the teacher:

> A singular light kindles in his looks, […] Does he see us sad, that the darkness will not withdraw? He consoles us, and promises the faithful assiduous seer better fortune in time.[162]

We cannot know for certain whether Emily read this essay, but certainly there are echoes of the 'Spirit' of EJB 27 in the Teacher of Sais, and the allegorical nature of the extract would allow for a range of interpretations.

EJB 28, 'Ah! why, because the dazzeling sun' returns to the night-time dream setting of EJB 23, and it is apparent that for the poet the night is the ideal time for the exercise of the imagination. The poem is addressed to the stars under whose watch she has the liberty to dream and to imagine:

> Thought followed thought – star followed star
> Through boundless regions on
> While one sweet influence, near and far,
> Thrilled through and proved us one-[163]

But the coming of the day breaks the spell, and the sun brings the dreamer back to reality:

> Blood-red he rose, and arrow-straight
> His fierce beams struck my brow
> The soul of Nature sprang elate,
> But mine sank sad and low![164]

The sun, which '[…] drains the blood of suffering men- | Drinks tears, instead of dew-'[165] represents not only the day-time but the world and its hopelessness. But the night allows the imagination to move through the time and space that is not tied to mortality, a time and space that is not earthly.

The following poem, 'Death, that struck when I was most confiding' (EJB 29), was composed four days before EJB 28, but its place in the notebook ties the poet's dissatisfaction with the seasonal and diurnal control exerted by the world to the need for the liberty which can be achieved with movement beyond the human construct of 'Time'. The poem is addressed to 'Death' and it demands that this time

[162] Carlyle (1899), pp.30-31.
[163] Emily Brontë, 'Ah! why, because the dazzling sun', 14 April 1845 (Entitled 'Stars' in 1846).
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.

Death should attack 'Time'. In this poem Time is a tree which shelters mortal creatures and foliage:

> Leaves, upon Time's branch, were growing brightly
> Full of sap and Full of silver dew;
> Birds, beneath its shelter, gathered nightly;
> Daily, round its flowers, the wild bees flew-[166]

The cyclical nature of Time's influence over all kinds of earthly life is emphasised, as is the blossoming and death which is an inherent part of that cycle, leading eventually to human death:

> Cruel Death, the young leaves droop and languish!
> Evenings gentle air may still restore-
> No, the morning sunshine mocks my anguish-
> Time for me must never blossom more![167]

The poet's response to this is to call on Death to strike down Time so that: '[…] its mouldering corpse will nourish | That from which it sprung. Eternity-'[168] Within the notebook 'Time' represents the cycle of mortality, leading to death, and the only way to break that cycle and make way for Eternity is for Time to be given its own mortality and to die in its turn. The 'Time' for whose death the poet is calling is that time experienced by humanity. It is 'Time' as mankind is able to understand it, having had experience of the time from birth to death. If, as Emily is suggesting here, 'Time' were annihilated, all that would be left would be the *a priori* time, the time that is beyond human experience and that is only accessible through the power of thought and the imagination. It is this *a priori* time that Emily has named 'Eternity'.

EJB 30, 'How beautiful the Earth is still' continues the search for the Eternity that is beyond mortality, and like 'My Comforter', it refers to the words of another thinker:

> "A thoughtful Spirit taught me soon
> "That we must long till life be done
> "That every phase of earthly joy
> "Will always fade and always cloy-[169]

The identity of this 'thoughtful Spirit' is not certain. There is a copy of *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas À Kempis in the Brontë Parsonage Museum. The volume belonged to Maria Branwell before her marriage to Patrick Brontë, and would

[166] Emily Brontë, 'Death, that struck when I was most confiding', 10 April 1845.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Emily Brontë, 'How beautiful the Earth is still', 2 June 1845.

therefore have been in the house throughout Emily's lifetime. In the John Wesley translation which is in the BPM, À Kempis says:

> Use temporal things; desire eternal. Thou canst not be satisfied with any temporal good, because thou art not created to enjoy them. […] Vain and short is all human comfort. Blessed and real is that comfort, which is received inwardly from the truth.[170]

The same sentiment is addressed by Schiller in his poem 'The Ideal and the Actual Life' in which (in the Bulwer-Lytton translation) he says, 'Short are the joys Possession can bestow, | And in Possession sweet Desire will die.'[171]

In 'How beautiful the Earth is still' Emily concludes that rather than longing for what she terms 'The fleeting treacheries', she will:

> "[…] cast my anchor of Desire
> "Deep in unknown Eternity
> "Nor ever let my spirit tire
> "With looking for <u>What is to Be</u>.

So within the last two poems she has destroyed 'Time' and is aiming for Eternity. The poem concludes:

> "Glad comforter, will I not brave
> "Unawed, the darkness of the grave.
> "Nay, smile to hear Death's billows rave
> "My guide, sustained by thee?
> "The more unjust seems present fate
> "The more my spirit springs elate
> "Strong in thy strength, to anticipate
> "Rewarding Destiny![172]

'How beautiful the Earth is still' is the penultimate poem of the notebook.

Throughout her engagement with the philosophies and ideas that she encountered through her reading and education, Emily was developing a personal belief-system based on the strength of her own imagination, her power of thought, and her internal capacity to synthesise the ills encountered by humanity in this world. This enabled to her to think herself beyond the human constructs of time and space, and together with her 'God of visions', which I have shown was a part of

---

[170] Thomas À Kempis, *An Extract of the Christian's Pattern: or, a Treatise on the Imitation of Christ*, Written in Latin by Thomas À Kempis, Abridged and published in English, by John Wesley, M.A. (London: Printed for the Booksellers; and sold at the Preaching Houses, in Town and Country, 1795), p.149.

[171] F. Schiller, 'The Ideal and the Actual Life', Bulwer Lytton, trans. *Blackwood's*, Vol. 53, April 1843, p.435.

[172] F. Schiller, 'The Ideal and the Actual Life', Lytton Bulwer, trans. *Blackwood's*, Vol. 53, April 1843, p.435.

herself - her imagination seated within her soul, she was able to perceive her own Eternity beyond the confines of mortality. This capacity has been described in 'lexicon' criticism as mysticism. But it is much more exact that that. It is a conscious perspective based on the intellectual journey that is apparent in the structure and content of the EJB notebook.

In the final poem, 'No coward soul is mine' (EJB 31), Emily describes the belief-system that her search for eternity has led her to. This poem emphasises not only the very personal nature of her deity, but also the fact that she shares that animating spirit with every other existence. Its being is not dependent on the cyclical, the Earth, moon, suns, or universes; and it bears no relationship to the vanity of the '[…] thousand creeds | That move men's hearts,'.[173] This poem brings together ideas from contemporary philosophies but it makes them entirely her own.

This examination has shown the EJB notebook as a complete and purposeful work that was created to explore, develop and present Emily Brontë's own philosophy; a philosophy that I think had its roots in the literature and thought systems that she may have encountered during her year in Belgium, and would certainly have read of in both *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* magazines. The notebook presents the philosophy by constructing 'future poems *a priori*'[174] which is itself an intellectual construction which, whether coincidentally or not, was shared with the Idealist philosophy of Friedrich Schlegel.

It should not be surprising that Emily chose to create her own poetic philosophical notebook. Writing to William Smith Williams in 1848, Charlotte said of Emily: 'In some points I consider Ellis somewhat of a theorist […]. I should say that Ellis will not be seen in his full strength till he is seen as an essayist.'[175] This notebook could be construed as Emily's philosophical essay in poetic form.

Charlotte's letters also give an indication that the ideas addressed within the notebook were ones which she would have associated with Emily. I have described how Ralph Waldo Emerson's Transcendental philosophy was one which grew from the Kantian ideas that he developed upon from his reading of, and probably his conversations and correspondence with, Thomas Carlyle.[176] In November 1848 George Smith sent Charlotte a package of books which contained an edition of

---

[173] Emily Brontë, 'No coward soul is mine', 2 January 1846.
[174] F. Schlegel, Behler and Struc, ed. (1968), p.116.
[175] Charlotte Brontë to William Smith Williams, 15 February 1848, Smith, ed. (2000), p.28.
[176] Ralph Waldo Emerson visited Thomas Carlyle at his house in August 1833. He had long admired Carlyle's work, and this meeting, which occurred in the course of a European tour that Emerson took, partly in order to meet his intellectual heroes (Walter Savage Landor, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, and Thomas Carlyle) began a friendship that lasted almost throughout the lives of the two men. Carlyle eventually became Emerson's English editor. Daniel Koch, *Ralph Waldo Emerson in Europe: Class, Race and Revolution in the Making of an American Thinker* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

Emerson's *Essays*. Charlotte had already expressed her own disagreement with Emerson's ideas, saying:

> […] man as he now is, can no more do without creeds and forms in religion than he can do without laws and rules in social intercourse.[177]

But she felt sufficiently convinced that Emily would be in sympathy with the sentiments in the *Essays* that, as she told William Smith Williams in a letter the following June, she attempted to read to her from them on the day before Emily's death.[178]

The EJB notebook was completed on 2 January 1846, and by 6 April of that year, Emily, along with Charlotte and Anne, was engaged on: 'preparing for the Press a work of fiction […]'.[179] *Wuthering Heights* was published in late 1847.[180] The consecutive positioning of the notebook and the novel suggests the potential for the intellectual processes that led to Emily's construction and composition of the notebook to go on to inform her writing of *Wuthering Heights*.

***Wuthering Heights*: A Re-imagining of the EJB Notebook**

Wuthering Heights, which has a complex structure, is based on the inter-related histories of Heathcliff, and the Earnshaw and Linton families, and is told by a sequence of narrators. These histories do not always follow chronologically, but they combine to provide a lucid tale which tells the story of two generations of the households of Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange from 1770 to 1802.

The book is structurally similar to the EJB notebook in that it contains two parts. The notebook is formed from what I have termed the '*a priori*' and the 'future' poems. *Wuthering Heights* contains two volumes, each of which tells the story of a generation, with a connecting section at the beginning of the second volume. It could be considered that the story of the first generation informs that of the second, and that as such these two sections relate to the two sections of the notebook. But although the story of the first volume underlies and informs that of the second, it is not *a priori*. It is literally a cataloguing of preceding events, and those events are, on the whole, known by the participants in the second part of the story. I propose that the intellectual processes that led to the structuring of the notebook did inform *Wuthering Heights*. But that rather than using the same technique in narrative form,

[177] Charlotte Brontë to William Smith Williams, 18 October 1848, Smith, ed. (2000), pp.128-129.
[178] Charlotte Brontë to William Smith Williams, 25 June 1849, Smith, ed. (2000). p.225.
[179] Charlotte Brontë to Messrs Aylott and Jones, 6 April 1846, Smith, ed. (1995), p.461.
[180] The first review of *Wuthering Heights* appeared in *The Athenæum* of 25 December 1847.

Emily, having understood and internalised the concepts while creating the notebook, has re-imagined and re-presented them in a far more complex formulation.

A close examination of the text reveals two separate narrative strands. One is the day-to-day narrative that is afforded by the telling of the story; and the second, provided mainly, although at times indirectly, by Catherine Earnshaw, is what I will refer to as the 'transcendent narrative'. The first narrative is immediately recognisable and can be followed and understood as the story progresses, but the second is the narrative that transcends the mundane and empirical, and as such it evidences the ways in which Emily's creation of the EJB notebook went on to inform her crafting and composition of *Wuthering Heights*.

The transcendent narrative is mainly concerned with two related themes, both of which have their genesis in the EJB notebook. These themes, which share a symbiotic relationship within the narrative, are the tensions and capacities within the soul, and the explication of *a priori* intuition.

In the later poems of the notebook Emily personified abstract concepts, such as, Time, Hope, and Reason. I suggest that in *Wuthering Heights* she develops this personification and applies it to the conflicting factions within the soul. One soul is divided unequally between Heathcliff and Catherine Earnshaw. This circumstance is explained to the reader by Catherine, the transcendent narrator, who has *a priori* intuition of the matter and says to Nelly Dean: 'I cannot express it; but surely you and every body have a notion that there is, or should be, an existence of yours beyond you.'[181] She cannot express it because the notion comes entirely from within, it is not something that she has learned from anyone else. It is a 'latent thought', as that described by Emily in 'My Comforter'.

Catherine describes her notion of herself and Heathcliff as having one origin:

> […] he's more myself than I am. Whatever our souls are made of, his and mine are the same, […] Nelly, I *am* Heathcliff – he's always, always in my mind – not as a pleasure, any more than I am always a pleasure to myself – but, as my own being-[182]

Her discourse relates closely to 'No coward soul is mine', the final EJB poem, that is addressed to the very personal deity within the poet's own soul. Catherine says of Heathcliff:

> If all else perished, and *he* remained, I should still continue to be; and, if all else remained, and he were annihilated the Universe would turn to a mighty stranger. I should not seem a part of it.[183]

[181] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.86.
[182] E. Brontë (1999), pp.84 -86.
[183] E. Brontë (1999).

In ‘No coward soul is mine’ Emily says:

> Though Earth and moon were gone
> And suns and universes ceased to be
> And Thou wert left alone
> Every Exsistance would exsist in thee[184]

The close correlation between these two excerpts suggests that to Catherine, the vital part of her soul, the part that is worthy of being deified, is either represented by Heathcliff, or is only accessible while he still exists.

An examination of the responses and reactions of the two characters, to the circumstances that overtake them during the novel, reveals that the representation of Heathcliff indicates the ‘Dark world’ of the poems, and the cruelty and torment that are a part of it; whereas Catherine has inherited the capacity of the soul to imagine itself above the world. She has the part of the soul that is awake to its *a priori* intuition, Heathcliff is largely oblivious to it. Catherine will be, as she told Nelly Dean: ‘incomparably beyond and above you all’[185], and therefore by definition, has the capacity for her role as transcendent narrator. Catherine has *a priori* intuition of events that will occur later in the novel, and she is able to make the imaginative links across time and space that are crucial to her narrative. But Heathcliff is tied inexorably to the earth. This is illustrated, not only by his name which represents the rocks and heather of his environment, but also by the fact that his views are still determined by earthly mortality. He can only conceive of regaining Catherine by digging up her earthly body, and by ‘dissolving with her’.[186]

It could be considered that the tragedy of *Wuthering Heights* in relation to the poems which informed it, is that once separated, the two halves of the soul would never have the capacity to synthesise their separate elements. This is because, as Emily described in ‘Enough of Thought, Philosopher’, the capacity for synthesis is within the individual. A divided soul would not have recourse to that capacity. However, it is here that the connection between the two generations becomes significant. Days before his death, Heathcliff, who has displayed very little imaginative power throughout the rest of the novel, tells Nelly Dean that ‘there is a strange change approaching’,[187] and it is from here that he takes over the role of transcendent narrator. He watches Hareton and the younger Catherine leave the house together, and then says that although young Catherine ‘[…] invokes

[184] Emily Brontë, ‘No coward soul is mine’, 2 January 1846.
[185] E. Brontë (1999), p.170.
[186] E. Brontë (1999), p.302.
[187] Ibid., p.339

maddening sensations. *He* [Hareton] moves me differently'.[188] He goes on to say that Hareton seemed to be the personification of his [Heathcliff's] youth rather than a human being. He refers to Hareton's 'startling likeness to Catherine' and says:

> Hareton's aspect was the ghost of my immortal love, of my wild endeavours to hold my right, my degradation, my pride, my happiness, my anguish-[189]

Heathcliff's recognition of Hareton as a personification, and as representative of both himself and Catherine, suggests that it could be within Hareton that the synthesis of the two souls is possible. Certainly, the reader has been made aware of the importance of Hareton to the history, but this has been hinted at in such a way as to leave a subconscious suggestion that could almost be interpreted as *a priori* knowledge on the part of the reader. On Lockwood's very first visit to Wuthering Heights, and before he had entered the house, he noted the date '1500' and the name 'Hareton Earnshaw' carved above the front door. In effect, the history begins and ends with Hareton.

When read as a re-imagining of the EJB notebook, *Wuthering Heights* may be perceived as a creative experiment. The main characters are personifications of abstract concepts, and the overall framework contains a dual structure of empirical history and *a priori* intuition. It seems that by using the structural tools and the philosophy first developed in the EJB notebook, Emily Brontë has created an imaginative myth of the soul in *Wuthering Heights*. This is, however, a reading of the novel that is only possible when based on an understanding of the EJB notebook as a purposeful philosophical exploration.

[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid., p.340.

[This page has been left intentionally blank]

Chapter Three: Early Publication and Transcription: the EJB Poems from 1846 – 1895

Chapter Two showed the importance of a contextual reading in establishing the purpose and meaning of the poems of the EJB notebook. It described how that reading can illustrate the influence that I consider the structure and content of the notebook had on the crafting and creation of *Wuthering Heights*. Chapter One made clear that although Charlotte's biographical, creative, and editorial interventions resulted in an 'Emily Brontë lexicon' that has continued to shape interpretation of Emily's work, there have been critics, through the intervening time, who have avoided falling prey to the 'lexicon' influence. This chapter asks why, if this is the case, a contextual reading of the EJB poems has still not been achieved?

In seeking to answer this question I examine the bibliographic and textual history of the EJB poems from 1846 until they finally left the family in 1895. I propose that the fragmentary nature of publication and transcription during that time began to distance the poems from the original intention which was outlined in Chapter Two. This distancing began the process of removing the poems from the context of the notebook, with the effect that they began to lose the meaning that their original context had, as I contend, supported. Publication and transcription during the nineteenth-century established a precedent of non-sequential publication which is still followed by editors in the present day. This exploration will be supported by Figure 3.1, which is a diagrammatic representation of the history of the poems of the notebook during that period.

In his 1991 study of multiple authorship, Jack Stillinger considers 'the joint, or composite, or collaborative production of literary works that we usually think of as written by a single author.'[1] In this chapter I affirm that the 1844-1846 transcription of the EJB notebook was solely the work of Emily Brontë. But with the advent of the 1846 edition of *Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell*, a practice of collaboration and composite authorship began, which continues to affect our reading of the poems of the notebook today. The evidence of this multiple authorship, both within printed and transcribed texts, and on the holograph itself, is considered; and an examination made of the separate hands which are apparent on the photographs of the holograph. The annotations on the holograph are, where possible, ascribed to the different editions and transcriptions of the poems that appeared between 1846 and 1895. This investigation is supported by evidence from the 'Gondal Poems'

[1] Jack Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p.v.

holograph, which was transcribed at the same time, and which helps to define the different editorial behaviours that are suggested by the MSS.

The EJB holograph is currently unavailable for scholarship. I believe that although much valuable work can be done on seeking to establish the provenance of editorial annotations by using the existing photographs which are now in the BPM, an examination of the actual holograph would afford greater exactitude in this exercise; and if it were possible, the digitisation of the holograph would aid Brontë scholarship considerably.

The Origins of *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell*

In the 'Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell' with which Charlotte Brontë prefaced the 1850 edition of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*, she described an occurrence which has become a much-cited event in the history of the Brontës' poems. She said:

> One day, in the autumn of 1845, I accidentally lighted on a MS. volume of verse in my sister Emily's handwriting. Of course, I was not surprised, knowing that she could and did write verse: I looked it over, and something more than surprise seized me – a deep conviction that these were not common effusions, nor at all like the poetry women generally write. I thought them condensed and terse, vigorous and genuine. To my ear, they had also a peculiar music – wild, melancholy, and elevating.[2]

In Charlotte's account it was this event that eventually led to the publication of *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell* in 1846. She recounts how she approached Emily and told her that the poems 'merited publication'. She describes Emily's displeasure and says that it took days for her to persuade Emily to agree to publish. During this time, she said that Anne, 'quietly produced some of her own compositions, intimating that since Emily's had given me pleasure, I might like to look at hers.'[3]

This is the first public account of the history of the 1846 edition,[4] and, as with the prefatory note to the 1850 poems described in Chapter One, there is more than a suggestion of Charlotte's dramatic and creative capacities in its retelling. Emily's displeasure at the discovery and reading of her poems is emphasised by Charlotte's contrasting description of Anne's quiet offer of her own poems.

The first empirical evidence for the creation of the combined edition of Charlotte's, Emily's, and Anne's poems is in a letter written by Charlotte to Aylott

[2] C. Brontë ed., (1850), p.xiii.
[3] C. Brontë ed., (1850), pp.xiii-ix.
[4] Charlotte had already described the circumstances of her finding Emily's poetry notebook in a letter to William Smith Williams in September 1848, Smith, ed. (2000), p.118.

and Jones, publishers, of Paternoster Row in London. The letter is dated 28 January 1846 and asks whether Aylott and Jones would 'undertake the publication of a Collection of short poems in I vol. oct-'.[5] By 31 January 1846 Aylott and Jones had agreed to publish the poems at the authors' expense.

Charlotte's account of finding a 'M.S. volume of verse' in Emily's handwriting has led to speculation as to which of Emily's poetry notebooks she may have found. Davidson Cook, who rediscovered and made a transcription of the EJB notebook in A.J. Law's Honresfeld Library in 1926, quotes an inscription made by William Law on the first flyleaf of the bound notebook:

> This volume of M.S. Poems by Emily Brontë is the one mentioned by Charlotte in the Preface to 'Wuthering Heights' (the one Vol Edition)
> It is the most valuable of all the Brontë M.S.S. I possess and should not be parted with except to some one who would appreciate and value it.[6]

This claim was repeated by an anonymous writer for *The Rochdale Observer* in an account of a visit to Honresfeld by the Rochdale Literary and Scientific Society in 1915. The report described the volume of poems at that time in Alfred Law's collection and said: 'The small volume of Emily Brontë's poems is quite a historic one, for it is referred to by Charlotte in her introduction to "Wuthering Heights".'[7] This was also the view proposed by Hatfield in his 1941 edition of Emily's poems. He said of the EJB: 'this was doubtless the manuscript book which her sister Charlotte found and read on that momentous day in the autumn of 1845.'[8]

The identity of the notebook that Charlotte found is not, on the face of it, particularly important. But it will become apparent that the claims mentioned above go on to play an important part in the continued obfuscation of the original intention behind the EJB notebook, and so they should be described in context.

Charlotte said that the discovery happened in the autumn of 1845. It seems that whichever of the two notebooks was being transcribed at that time would have been the one most likely to have been accidentally found. 'How beautiful the Earth is still' (EJB 30) was the last EJB poem to be composed during 1845, and that was dated 2 June 1845. The only poem to be composed during the autumn of 1845 was 'Julian M. and A.G. Rochelle: Silent is the House – all are laid asleep', which was written on 9 October 1845. This is the poem from which the extract, 'The Prisoner: A Fragment' was taken for the 1846 edition. It is also the poem on which Charlotte

[5] Smith, ed., (1995), p.445.
[6] Davidson Cook, *Thirty-one Poems by Emily Jane Brontë: Transcribed from the original Manuscript in Mr A.J. Law's Honresfeld Collection*, 3 May 1926 (BPM).
[7] *Rochdale Observer* (1 December 1915).
[8] Hatfield, ed. (1941), p.4.

based her composite composition, ‘The Visionary’ in the 1850 edition. It seems that this was a poem that particularly impressed Charlotte, and as Chapter One describes, it was one on which significant ‘lexicon’ ideas are based. As this poem was composed during the time cited by Charlotte, it is possible that it was the Gondal notebook, and ‘Silent is the House’ in particular, upon which Charlotte ‘accidentally lighted’.[9] This poem was cited by Winifred Gérin in her 1971 biography of Emily Brontë as the one most likely to have been accidentally found by Charlotte.[10] But even if this were the first poem to be found Charlotte may still have gone on to make a more purposeful search after the accidental discovery. When writing of Emily’s poetry to William Smith Williams in 1848, she said:

> […] of its sterling excellence I am deeply convinced, and have been from the first moment the M.S. fell by chance into my hands. The pieces are short, but they are genuine: they stirred my heart like the sound of a trumpet when I read them alone and in secret.[11]

The poems of the EJB notebook are, on the whole, shorter than those in the Gondal book. Both contain short poems, but the Gondal notebook has several that exceed the EJB poems in length. ‘Silent is the House’ contains thirty-eight stanzas, and ‘The Death of A.G.A’ exceeds fifty. Taking Charlotte’s statement about accidentally finding the poems during the autumn of 1845 as the truth, I think it likely, that after accidentally lighting upon the Gondal notebook, Charlotte then went on to examine both notebooks in some detail.

There is, however, a second possibility. In her diary paper of 30 July 1845, Emily described a journey that she and Anne made to York at the end of June 1845. They left Haworth on Monday 30 June and returned on Wednesday 2 July.[12] Charlotte left Haworth for Hathersage, where her friend Ellen Nussey’s brother was curate, on Thursday 3 July.[13] This suggests that, apart from the presence of her father,[14] Charlotte would have been alone at Haworth for the three days of Emily’s and Anne’s absence, giving her ample opportunity to read ‘alone and in secret’, as she wrote to William Smith Williams that she did.

Emily composed four EJB poems during the first part of 1845: ‘Enough of Thought, Philosopher’ (EJB 27), on 3 February; ‘Death, that struck when I was most confiding’ (EJB 29), on 10 April; ‘Ah! why, because the dazzling sun’ (EJB 28), on

[9] C. Brontë ed., (1850).
[10] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp.181-182.
[11] Charlotte Brontë to William Smith Williams, September 1848, Smith, ed. 2000, pp.118-119.
[12] Emily Brontë, Diary Paper, 30 July 1845, Smith, ed. (1995), pp.407-409.
[13] Charlotte Brontë to Ellen Nussey, 27 June 1845, Smith, ed. (1995), p.402.
[14] Charlotte wrote to Ellen Nussey on 13 June 1845 that her father’s sight ‘diminishes weekly’ and that she was reluctant to leave him alone, Smith, ed. (1995), p.397.

14 April; and 'How beautiful the Earth is still' (EJB 30), on 2 June. Of these, EJB 28 and 29 were not transcribed in order of composition, indicating that transcription took place sometime after composition. This suggests the possibility that Emily may have been transcribing her most recently composed poems during June 1845 and that the notebook may therefore have been more easily 'lighted' upon during her absence in York. If this was the case then the EJB notebook could have been the first one to be found by Charlotte, but the circumstances of its finding, during her sisters' absence, would have been less acceptable than the accidental finding that she suggests took place during the autumn of 1845. We cannot know for certain which of the two notebooks Charlotte first discovered, but I think it likely that by the time she confronted Emily with her knowledge, she had had the opportunity to examine both in some detail.[15]

The 1846 Edition

Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell is a combined edition, containing twenty-one poems by Emily, nineteen by Charlotte, and twenty-one by Anne. Of Emily's twenty-one poems, fifteen are from the EJB notebook and six are from the Gondal.

Charlotte's correspondence with the publishing firm of Aylott and Jones[16] details the process which led to the production of the edition. She made her first approach to them in a letter written on 28 January 1846. This letter was signed 'C. Brontë', and the address given was 'Revd P. Brontë, Haworth, Bradford – Yorkshire.'[17] The three sisters chose what Charlotte described as 'the ambiguous' pseudonyms of Currer (Charlotte), Ellis (Emily), and Acton (Anne) Bell, in their publication of the poems. In her 'Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell' Charlotte said:

> Averse to personal publicity, we veiled our own names under those of Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell: the ambiguous choice being dictated by a sort of conscientious scruple at assuming Christian names positively masculine, while we did not like to declare ourselves women, because – without at that time suspecting that our mode of writing and thinking was not what is called 'feminine' – we had a vague impression that authoresses are liable to be looked on with prejudice […][18]

[15] Both the Gondal and the EJB notebooks are transcribed in Emily Brontë's tiny print hand, and even to someone familiar with the writing it is unlikely to have been possible to read all the poems rapidly.
[16] Aylott and Jones of Paternoster Row in London were a small publishing house who specialised mainly in the production of theological works. In her 'Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell' Charlotte recounts that she originally applied to 'Messrs Chambers, of Edinburgh' for advice about publication. The implication is that they directed her to Aylott and Jones.
[17] Charlotte Brontë to Aylott and Jones, 28 January 1846, Smith, ed. (1995), p.445.
[18] C. Brontë (1850).

But although she later called the names ‘ambiguous’, at the time of the creation of the book, when writing to Aylott and Jones she referred to the authors as ‘The Messrs. Bell’. She continued to sign her correspondence to the publisher with her own name, and to refer to ‘the authors’ in the third person, as though she was their uninvolved representative.

On 30 April 1846 Charlotte requested that Aylott and Jones should send her three copies of the book by post when publication was complete. These books must have arrived in Haworth on 7 May 1846, because she wrote again on that date asking that copies and advertisements be sent to eight listed periodicals. She also said:

> I have to mention that your last three communications and the parcel had been opened – where or by whom, I cannot discover; the paper covering the parcel was torn in pieces and the books were brought in loose.[19]

The same letter also suggests that ‘The Poems may be neatly done up in Cloth-’[20] indicating that although copies had been sent to Haworth in the afore-mentioned parcel, they were not in their final publication binding. This is confirmed by a letter which Charlotte sent four days later saying that ‘The books may be done up in the style of Moxon’s duodecimo edition of Wordsworth.’[21]

That the first three copies of *Poems* arrived in Haworth on 7 May 1846 is further evidenced by a letter written in 1895 by William Law of Honresfeld, to Butler Wood, who was at that time the Bibliographical Secretary of the newly-formed Brontë Society. He said that he had both Emily’s and Anne’s copies of the 1846 edition, and went on to describe the inscription in Anne’s book:

> […] with her name inscribed – A. Brontë May 7 1846. At the bottom of the page is, London, Aylott and Jones, 8 Paternoster Row, 1846.[22]

Unfortunately, the collection in which this book was kept is the now inaccessible Law-Dixon Collection, so this information cannot be verified at present. But Law’s description of a book that contained the publishers’ names of ‘Aylott and Jones’ is consistent with the very earliest editions.

[19] Charlotte Brontë to Aylott and Jones, 7 May 1846, Smith, ed. (1995), p.470.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Charlotte Brontë to Aylott and Jones, 11 May 1846, Smith, ed. (1995), p.473.
[22] William Law to Butler Wood, 9 March 1895, West Yorkshire Archives Service (WYAS), Bradford, DB28/C21.

Holograph Reproductions

The 1846 edition of *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell* is of vital importance to the post-genetic examination of the EJB notebook because its creation triggered the first instance of shared authorship in the history of the poems.

A comparison of the EJB poems included in the 1846 edition with the corresponding poems in the holograph shows some textual differences, and this is a circumstance that has been the subject of discussion among scholars. That the texts of 1844 and 1846 differ in some poems is certain, and it will become apparent that the acceptance of these differences as final authorial revisions, has augmented the distance of the poems as they are now read, from their original context in the notebook. What is crucial, is to determine as far as possible, whether the changes that appeared in 1846 originate with Emily Brontë, and if they do, how they should influence readings of the original notebook. The photographs of the notebook show some editorial annotations, and I investigate the relationship between these and the textual differences in the 1846 edition.

One of the problems with which scholars have had to contend in addressing the provenance of the annotations on the MS is the lack of availability of a holograph. The EJB holograph was last available for public consultation in 1934 when copies were made by Wise and Symington for the facsimile that they included in their 'Shakespeare Head' edition of *The Poems of Emily Jane Brontë and Anne Brontë*. This facsimile became the authoritative MS text for the EJB notebook, until Edward Chitham's discovery in the early 1980s, of the Davidson Cook transcript of the EJB poems.[23] The transcript is among the Hatfield papers in the Brontë Parsonage Museum. At some point between the finding of the Cook transcript and the publication of Derek Roper's 1995 edition of Emily Brontë's poems, Roper became aware of a set of photographs of the notebook, also in the BPM.[24] These photographs show more fine detail than is apparent in the facsimile. The BPM catalogue records that the photographs were donated to the museum in December 1970 by the Leeds Public Library, and came with a collection of papers that had originally belonged to J. A. Symington. Chapter Five will discuss the provenance of these photographs, and their relationship to the Shakespeare Head facsimile, in more detail.

This brief history, from 1934 to 1995, documents the availability of 'authoritative' EJB texts to scholarship. However, the advent of MS digitisation has improved capacity to examine, and to extract information from old photographs. The examination that I have made of the EJB photographs, together with an additional

[23] Roper (1984), p.167.
[24] Roper, ed. (1995), p.14.

photograph of ‘No coward soul is mine’ that was probably taken in either 1897 or 1926,[25] has been carried out using digital copies of the photographs, generously supplied by the BPM. I have been able to enhance and magnify these images and in doing so have deciphered some detail that is less apparent from a hand-magnified examination of the photographs. But this technology cannot resolve all the questions that are raised in a detailed investigation into the MS.

As will become apparent in Chapter Five, the existing photographs of the EJB notebook were taken no later than 1934, and it is likely that the individual photograph of ‘No coward soul is mine’ was, as just noted, taken much earlier. This means that because of the technological limitations of the time that they were taken, the information that the photographs provide is restricted. Some of the annotations on the holograph are visible on the photographs, although not always clear. But importantly to this investigation, it is not possible to tell whether those annotations were added in pen or pencil. Davidson Cook, who saw the holograph in 1926, refers to the additional hand as ‘the penciller’, so it is likely that at least some of the added notes were in pencil. The photographs, however, do not allow us to make the distinction.

Emily Brontë began transcription of the Gondal notebook in the same month as the EJB. The dimensions of the two notebooks are the same, and the poems chosen for 1846 were taken from both notebooks. The Gondal notebook is now in the British Library,[26] and the library has provided high quality digital images of most of the pages.[27] These images, which can be magnified for added clarity, show clearly the difference between pen and pencil.

The EJB notebook was trimmed and rebound at some time between 1895 and 1897 but the Gondal remains in its original stationer’s notebook format.[28] The digital images show the pages from outer edge to the stitching in the centre of the page. The Gondal notebook also appears to be cleaner and less frequently handled than the EJB, but this may be because of the differing qualities of reproduction.

Because of the many parallels between the two notebooks, it seems judicious to use the Gondal notebook – where the original is in the public domain - as a gauge against which to test hypotheses or possibilities with regard to the EJB MS, which is not. The most important question that I address with the help of the

[25] Facsimile copies of ‘No coward soul is mine’ bearing a close resemblance to this photograph appeared in *The Woman at Home*, August 1897, and in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 1926.
[26] Add. MS. 43483
[27] At present 50 of the 68 pages are available digitally. I have therefore obtained scans of the remaining pages from the BL. The scans were made at an earlier date than the digital images – but are of sufficient quality as to show the difference between pen and pencil in the reproduction.
[28] Figure 1 shows the respective hands through which the two notebooks passed between 1844 and the present day.

Gondal notebook, is the extent of Emily Brontë's involvement in the preparation and editing of her poems for the 1846 edition.

The Selection of Poems and the Evidence from the Gondal Notebook

The first editorial activity to be examined must be that of the choice of poems for the 1846 edition. Some scholars make little distinction between the selection of the poems and the subsequent editing, but these are two distinct activities and should be addressed accordingly.

Hatfield, writing in 1941, said, 'It has been thought not improbable that Charlotte selected and "edited" Emily's poems for printing in the volume of 1846,'[29] but he does not suggest who it was that thought it 'not improbable'. He goes on to say that the editorial additions that are visible on the MSS[30] in Emily's hand, 'seem to show that she at least assisted in the selection and titling of the poems.' His wording is ambiguous as he suggests the potential for the editorial work to be both Charlotte's and Emily's. Rosenbaum and White use Hatfield's 1941 edition of Emily's poems as the source for much of the information on Emily Brontë's work that they present as factual in their volume of the *Index of English Literary MSS*. In my view, they misread Hatfield's ambiguity, saying unequivocally that Charlotte 'performed the editorial task of selecting and revising poems for "Poems" (1846) […]'.[31]

John Hewish, in 1969, paraphrased Hatfield, saying that Emily's MSS 'show that she helped in the work of titling and adapting her poems for the 1846 volume,'[32] These views all seem to reflect the 'Emily Brontë lexicon' to some extent, in that they apparently derive from Charlotte's description of Emily's antipathy to the finding and reading of her poems, and assume that Emily cannot have taken a dominant role in the selection and editing of her poems for 1846. Certainly, there is no evidence on existing reproductions of the EJB notebook to suggest that Charlotte selected the poems and that Emily was relegated to the role of helper.

Derek Roper, who published the most recent edition of Emily Brontë's poetry in 1995, does not subscribe to the 'lexicon' view of the selection, although the suggestion that he makes is conjectural. He says: 'By far the most likely method is that each of the sisters chose her own contributions and wrote out each poem separately […]'.[33] In fact, when the EJB photographs are examined in isolation they

[29] Hatfield, ed. (1941), p.4.
[30] MSS here refers to both the Gondal and EJB notebooks.
[31] B. Rosenbaum and P. White, *Index of English Literary MSS*, Vol. IV: 1800-1900, Part 1, Arnold – Gissing (London: Mansell, 1982), p.82.
[32] Hewish (1969), p.88.
[33] Roper, ed. (1995), p.22.

give very little evidence to support any view of the process of the selection of the poems. But when digital reproductions of the two notebooks are examined and contrasted, they present significant details that I think lead to elucidation of the process used in making the choice of the poems for 1846.

When I made my first visual examination of the photographs of the EJB notebook I noticed some apparently decorative additions. These consist of sets of lines (usually three) in inverted triangular formation, both above and below the poems. The lines above the poems are sometimes accompanied by what looks like a tiny letter <o> in the centre of the page and beneath the lines. I assumed that this <o> was part of the decoration, although as it only appeared on some of the poems I did make a note of which ones had the addition, but at that time I could not perceive a pattern.

An examination of the digital images of the Gondal notebook shows that several of the poems in that MS also have the added <o> above them, and that the <o> is added in pencil rather than pen, which distinguishes it from the decorative lines that it accompanies. This changes the perspective from which the EJB <o> should be viewed, as it suggests that those <o>'s have also been added in pencil, although this is not apparent on the photographs. Having noted these pencil additions to the Gondal notebook I then went on to examine it for further pencil marks, in contrast to the pencilled editorial notes, such as titles and revisions to the text that are also in evidence on the images.

Although the <o>s are central rather than marginal, I will refer to all the annotations that are not textual, as marginal, in order to differentiate between those and any changes to the actual text. The Gondal notebook contains seven different types of marginal notes, one of which is the small <o>. The others are: an asterisk <*>, a plus sign <+>, the abbreviated word 'Pub?' and a pointing hand very similar to a finger signpost, or manicule. In addition to these five, are a larger circle, similar to a capital <O>, and the initials 'ABN'. All these have been added in pencil, and most, apart from the small <o> and some instances of the initials 'ABN', are in the margin. The reproductions of 'Cold in the earth and the deep snow piled above thee!' and '"Listen! when your hair like mine' represent pages from the Gondal notebook containing examples of all these marginalia. The large <O> and the initials 'ABN' appear as a pair in all but two instances in the notebook, and it will become apparent that some of the other marks are most often paired.

An examination of the relationship between the three instances of nineteenth-century publication or transcription which are illustrated in Fig. 3.1, and the marginal markers in the Gondal notebook, shows at least one consistent

connection.[34] The poems that have the large <O> and the initials 'ABN' are those Gondal poems which were transcribed by Arthur Bell Nicholls between 1854 and 1895. This seems to indicate a connection between some of the marginal marks and the presence of poems in different editions. Taking this as a hypothesis, I tested it by finding the Gondal poems which appear in 1846 and examining the marginal markers that have been made in the notebook beside those poems. The results of this investigation are detailed in Table 3.1, which describes the marginal markers that appear next to the poems from each of the three editions.

The 1846 edition contains six Gondal poems, and all have related marginal pencil marks in the notebook. All six have the small <o> and an asterisk. Four of the poems also have the abbreviated word 'Pub', twice accompanied by a question mark and twice without. One poem, 'Oh Day, He cannot die', illustrated in Figure 3.3, has the word 'Pub?' pencilled into the margin and a tiny pencilled manicule which points to the beginning of the poem. The manicule is repeated next to 'Cold in the earth and the deep snow piled above thee', as shown in Figure 3.2, and although 'Pub' also appears here it is separated from the manicule by an asterisk. The word 'Pub' does not appear next to any of the poems from the notebook that were not chosen for 1846, but both the small <o> and the asterisk do. The manicule appears next to one non-1846 poem. Twenty-five of the forty-five poems in the notebook have the small <o> above them, and fourteen have the asterisk. There are only two poems, 'In the earth, the earth thou shalt be laid', and 'Heavy hangs the raindrop', which have both the small <o> and the asterisk, and which were not chosen for 1846.

I suggest that the above evidence points to the likelihood that the small <o>, the asterisk, the manicule, and the word 'Pub' were all markers that had some place in the selection of poems for 1846. This possibility is further supported by the picture that is built up when a further marginal marker is considered. Charlotte chose eight Gondal poems for inclusion in the 1850 edition. All of these have the asterisk and seven of the eight have the marginal <+> in the notebook.

It must be remembered that the 1846 volume was a joint edition, a work that contained poems by all three sisters. My discovery and interpretation of the marginal markers suggests that the selection of poems for this edition was both more co-operative and more collaborative than has been previously thought. I propose that the relationships between the poems, the editions, and the marginal notes indicate a scenario in which at least two, and probably three, of the sisters

[34] It should be noted that although the editions described in Figure 3.1 contain poems from both the EJB and Gondal notebooks, the numbers of poems in that figure refer only to poems from the EJB notebook.

used their own marker to make known their choices for poems to be included in the edition. This was, in effect, a voting system.

If this hypothesis is correct, then the marks that belong to Charlotte are the easiest to define. Where the poems that have been asterisked were finally chosen for inclusion in 1846, they never have an additional <+> sign. But where a poem has been given an asterisk, but was not included in 1846, it is then also afforded a <+> and appears in 1850. Six of the poems that have both an asterisk and <+>, and went on to appear in 1850, do not have a small <o>.

The distinction between the marginal notes relating to the 1846 and 1850 editions shows most clearly in the poem 'Silent is the House – all are laid asleep'. The <o>, an asterisk, and the word 'Pub' appear in the margin next to the fourth stanza, which begins: 'In the dungeon crypts idly did I stray'. A vertical line is also drawn down the left-hand margin from this point. This is where the extract called 'The Prisoner (A Fragment)' was taken from for the 1846 edition. At the top of the complete poem are another asterisk and a <+>. This is where Charlotte's 1850 compilation, 'The Visionary' begins. It is also notable in this poem, that the small <o> is written at the side of the fourth stanza rather than in the centre of the page and is less neatly executed.

My own interpretation of these marks, which must to some extent be conjectural, while still based on the empirical evidence of the holograph, suggests a process which is described by the marks that appear on this poem. I propose that the small <o>, which is central, and almost integral to the text in all but one of the poems in which it appears, is the mark that belongs to Emily, and that the asterisk is Charlotte's mark for 1846.[35] The small <o> accompanies more poems than does either the asterisk or the <+> sign, and I think that this suggests that Emily made her own initial selection of poems for the 1846 edition by marking the poems that she considered to be possible candidates for inclusion in the collection, with a small and unobtrusive <o>. She then passed the notebook to Charlotte for her suggestions. The slight difference in the <o> of 'Silent is the House' indicates to me that this poem was not part of Emily's original selection, and that she reconsidered after Charlotte had added one, or probably both, of her asterisks. The asterisks appear, as described, at the top of the poem and at the beginning of the fourth stanza. But the <o> has been added only at the beginning of the fourth stanza, and this is the section that was finally chosen for 1846.

[35] That the <*> was Charlotte's marker for 1846 is further evidenced by a holograph notebook of Charlotte's own poetry, and a single holograph sheet, both of which contain poems that were included in 1846. The poem on the sheet, and four of the poems in the notebook (all five of which were printed in 1846) are accompanied by a pencilled <*>, BPM Bonnell 94 and 96.

The provenance of the final two marginal notes for 1846 is more difficult to define. But I suggest that whoever added them, they were used as a final part of the selection process. Six Gondal poems were included in the 1846 edition, but eight poems from the notebook have both the small <o> and the asterisk as marginal notes. This suggests that the two initial selectors, whom I consider to be Emily and Charlotte, chose more poems than it was possible to include, and so a further stage of selection was needed. Alternatively, the idea for the later selection of 'The Prisoner – A Fragment' necessitated a further selection or exclusion.

The two final marginal notes are the word 'Pub', twice accompanied by a question mark and twice alone, and the manicule. A comparison of the cursive hand of the three sisters with the word 'Pub' suggests that it may have been written by either Emily or Anne, but it is less like Charlotte's cursive script.[36] An examination of the marginal marks next to the fourth stanza of 'Silent is the House' indicates that the asterisk and the marginal line have both been added with a thicker, soft pencil, whereas both the word 'Pub' and the small o seem to have been written in a finer, paler pencil., suggesting the possibility of just two hands for the four marks. 'O Day, He cannot die' has the four marks: the <o>, asterisk, 'Pub?' and the manicule, and here the manicule seems to have been drawn with a different pencil or pressure to the word 'Pub?' I would therefore suggest that if Anne took part in the selection of the poems for 1846, and there is no reason to suppose that she would not, then the manicule was her mark, and was probably used as a casting vote.

The use of a manicule by members of the Brontë family was not restricted to the Gondal notebook. The BPM has recently acquired a heavily annotated book which originally belonged to Maria Brontë, the mother of Charlotte, Emily, Anne and Branwell. The book is called *The Remains of Henry Kirke White* and contains a poem called 'Solitude' with the opening line: 'It is not that my lot is low'. A manicule pointing to this line has been drawn in the margin, and above the poem someone has written 'Kirke White's chef d'oevre [*sic*]'.[37] The provenance of this manicule is not certain, but it differs in style from those in the Gondal notebook. The final page of the book also has two spiky, roughly executed manicules apparently formed by a different hand and pointing to several lines of what looks like shorthand.[38] Although

[36]Examples of the cursive script of the three sisters can be found in: Anne – 'Brontë Manuscript Notebook', University of Leeds Special Collections, BC MS 19c Brontë/01; Charlotte – 'Letter to Amelia Ringrose' University of Leeds SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/03/02/06; Emily – The 'Ashley' Notebook, British Library, BL Ashley MS 175.

[37] Annotation in Henry Kirke White and Robert Southey, *The Remains of Henry Kirke White of Nottingham, late of St. John's College Cambridge: with an account of his life: in two volumes* (London: Printed for Vernon, Hood, and Sharpe; Longman, Rees, Hurst and Orme; J. Dighton, T. Barret and J. Nicholson, Cambridge; and W. Dunn and S. Tupman, Nottingham, 1807), p.131.

[38] The staff at the Parsonage Museum believe that this shorthand, and therefore probably the manicules as well, are by Branwell..

these examples of manicules are apparently by members of the Brontë family, the evidence for them being so is not conclusive. There are however, manicules in two books belonging to Charlotte and both of these have features in common indicating that they were probably drawn by the same person. The first is a book of English Grammar which contains two manicules. One has a patterned sleeve and a frilled cuff and is pointing to a set of irregular verbs.[39] The second is smaller, but also with a frilled cuff and is apparently indicating that the reader should turn the page.[40] Charlotte's second annotated book is an exercise book of German translations and this contains two manicules, again with frilled cuffs.[41]

This proliferation of manicules in books belonging to the Brontës suggests that their use was a family trait, a possibility that is further supported by the appearance of disembodied hands, very like manicules but carrying out actions other than pointing, in some of Branwell's letters. Branwell's hands feature the same frilled cuffs as those in Charlotte's books, and as in most of the Brontë manicules the hand stops at the cuff.[42]

It is therefore possible that the manicules that appear in the Gondal notebook could have been made by any one of the sisters. But having seen examples of other Brontë manicules I think that the Gondal manicule is most likely to be Anne's marker. A comparison of the Gondal manicules with those from Charlotte's books shows that the style of execution differs. Charlotte's are more ornate and have a frilled, rather than a plain cuff. The possibility of the mark being Anne's is also supported by the evidence of 'Listen! when your hair like mine' which is a Gondal poem that was printed in 1850 but was not chosen for 1846. The marginal markers beside this poem are <*>, <+> and a manicule. There is no <o> or 'Pub'. The absence of the <o> suggests that it was not one of Emily's original choices for 1846, but the presence of <*> indicates that it was one of Charlotte's. I propose that after the lack of consensus between Charlotte and Emily the poem was judged by Anne who awarded it a manicule as her contribution to the vote. The fact that the poem did not finally appear in 1846 suggests to me that the manicule was not Emily's mark.

The likely connection between the pencilled marginal notes in the Gondal notebook, and the nineteenth-century editions and transcriptions is further evidenced by Table 3.2 which shows the Gondal poems that were not included in

[39] Annotation in Lindley Murray, *English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners*, p.111, BPM Bonnell 44.
[40] Ibid, p.77.
[41] Charlotte Brontë, German Translation exercise book, BPM Bonnell 117.
[42] Branwell Brontë to Joseph Bentley Leyland, October 1846, letter illustrated with five pen and ink sketches, University of Leeds Special Collections, BC MS 19c Brontë/B4/14.

any of these collections. It should be noted that only one of these poems has a related marginal note, the small <o> above 'Come the wind may never again'.

There has been very little consideration of the marginal marks and their relationship to the selection of poems. This omission may be largely because the advent of digital technology has only recently made a close study of the holograph possible. The small <o>s and the manicules would be quite difficult to decipher without some magnification. Nevertheless, the pencilled marks are referred to by G.D. Hargraves in his 1994 article for *Brontë Society Transactions*. He says that 'Some of the pencil marks visible in the margins of the Gondal transcript book possibly indicate that Emily participated in the selection process for 1846.' [43] He seems to make some of the connections that I have detailed, but he is less specific about how the different marks might relate to the separate editions:

> The marginal note 'Pub?', in a large cursive hand which may be Emily's, is found against four poems, each of them included in 1846 […] There are numerous other marginal marks – asterisks, circles, crosses, index fists – but these are very difficult to attribute and interpret (the pencils of at least three persons – Emily, Charlotte, and A.B. Nicholls – seems to have been used on this MS); the asterisks all occur against the six pieces used in *1846* and the eight used in the 1850 selection […].[44]

Hargreaves does not say that there are two different sizes of circles, which suggests to me that he was not aware of the small <o>s. These are the marks that are of most importance to this study because they are the only marginal marks that have survived in the EJB notebook. They are also the marks, apart from the asterisks (whose connection to the 1850 edition and her own holographs defines them as Charlotte's), which relate most consistently to the 1846 edition. To exclude the small <o>s from this examination is potentially to relegate Emily from the position of prime chooser of her poems, to that of helper in the selection process.

This proposal for the procedure used for the selection of poems for 1846 is firmly based on evidence from the Gondal notebook. It will become clear in the ensuing chapters that what we now have as representative of the EJB notebook has been subject to quite considerable editing. All that now remains on the EJB photographs of the pencilled marginal notes evident in the Gondal notebook, are the small central <o>s, and as it is likely that they too were made in pencil it cannot even be certain that all those remain intact. But at least the presence of those remaining <o>s indicates that the same procedure was probably followed for choosing the poems from the EJB notebook.

---

[43] G.D. Hargreaves, 'The Poems of Ellis Bell: The Version Printed in 1846 and the Manuscript Version', *BST,* Vol. 21, Issue 3 (1994), pp.49-62 (p.53).
[44] Hargreaves (1994), p.58.

There is a further annotation that appears in the EJB notebook, and I consider, on the evidence of the potential for collaboration that has emerged so far, that it derived from the same time. The ordering of EJB 28 and 29 suggests that Emily did not transcribe her poems immediately after composition but retained them for some time and transcribed them at a later date. Charlotte's correspondence with Aylott and Jones shows that planning and subsequent editing of the 1846 edition took place between 28 January and 7 May 1846. By 11 March, proofs were being corrected, which indicates that the choice of poems had taken place sometime before that date. Emily composed 'No coward soul is mine', the final poem in the EJB notebook, on 2 January 1846. But I suggest that it had not been transcribed at the time at which selection was taking place. In this case EJB 30, 'How beautiful the Earth is still' would have been the last poem of the notebook at that time.

'How beautiful the Earth is still' fills one entire page of the notebook and its conclusion is indicated by three lines, drawn in an inverted triangular shape beneath it. Underneath those lines someone has added the comment 'Never was better stuff penned', which Hatfield attributes to Charlotte.[45] The writing is in a very small print hand, as used by Emily in the preceding poems, but it is not identical to her writing. Some letters, notably the <f>s, the <n>, <W>, and <d> are formed differently and have a different orientation. The words are also more widely spaced. Davidson Cook does not make an attribution in his transcription. But although he uses black typescript to reproduce all the poems, he adds this comment in red typescript, probably to differentiate between the comment and the text of the poem. The photograph of the page shows that the nib used for this comment was finer than that used for the preceding poem, and some of the letters are beginning to fade, which has not happened to the script on the rest of the page. A comparison of Charlotte's tiny print hand from a holograph now in the British Library,[46] shows letters formed in the same way as those in this comment, and so I consider it possible that Charlotte added the comment during the selection procedure, when it seems that the sisters may have been allowing relatively free access to each other's poetry MSS. Coming at what was then the very end of the notebook, the comment was probably intended to relate to the entire notebook, and not just to 'How beautiful the Earth is still'.

Taking the Gondal notebook as a guide as to the nature of the annotations (both visible and now invisible) in the EJB notebook, it seems that the first indication of shared authorship is exactly that. That the first evidence of editorial practice in relation to the selection of the poems for 1846 was a collaborative exercise and was

[45] Hatfield, ed. (1941), p.233.
[46] Charlotte Brontë, 'The Spell, an Extravaganza by Lord Charles Albert Florian Wellesley' (1834-35), BL Add. MS. 34255.

indeed shared. It is also important to remember at this point, that the annotations were in pencil, a fact that has significance when I come to consider the question of how the editing of the poems at that time should be viewed in relation to the ongoing integrity of the EJB notebook.

Textual Editing on the EJB Holograph

The selection of the poems for the 1846 edition resulted in the removal of fifteen of the EJB poems from the context of the notebook. On the evidence of the previous investigation it seems likely that while Emily herself played a significant part in the selection procedure, the overall exercise was collective. The next question to consider is that of the extent to which Emily was involved in the textual editing of her poems for 1846, and to ask how the editing for that edition should affect ongoing perceptions of the EJB notebook.

In 1984 Derek Roper wrote a detailed study on the editing of Emily Brontë's poems for the 1846 edition. He begins by saying that although the printer's copy for 1846 is no longer extant 'we do possess the holograph manuscripts from which Emily Brontë's poems were apparently transcribed to make her share of the copy.'[47] This is true of the Gondal holograph, but in 1984 the Shakespeare Head facsimile was the only source which Roper could have termed a 'holograph' of the EJB notebook, and as well as being an inaccurate description, in Chapter Five I describe evidence that raises serious questions about the authority of that source.

A further study of the editing for 1846 was carried out by G.D. Hargreaves in 1994, and for this he again used the Shakespeare Head facsimile, but he supported it by referring to the Davidson Cook transcript from the BPM.[48]

Both the Gondal and EJB notebooks carry several different kinds of editorial annotation. The first of these, in which a word or words have been crossed out and then replaced by alternative words within the text itself, can be discounted as editing for 1846, as the changes must have been made during transcription of the original notebook. Some changes involve the crossing out of a word with the addition of an alternative above it, added in the same style and approximate size of writing as the original text of the poem. The thickness of the strokes in these cases suggest that most of these changes were made in pen, although reliance on reproductions of the old photographs means that we cannot be sure about this. I think that this type of editorial change should be considered as an intentional alteration to the holograph, and that future transcriptions of the poem should carry these changes, as an

[47] Derek Roper, 'The Revision of Emily Brontë's Poems of 1846', *The Library*, 6th ser., 6 (1984) pp. 153-167.
[48] Hargreaves (1994), p.56.

attempt has been made to make them integral to the text of the notebook. There are also some instances of the addition of an alternative word, usually in fainter script, and no attempt to cross out the original. In these circumstances there is a case for supposing that the 'editor' has suggested an alternative while not wishing to change the original text of the notebook. The 1846 poems in the Gondal notebook carry fewer editorial annotations within the text than do the EJB poems for the same edition. There are also several incidences of the additions of titles for 1846 poems in the EJB notebook, but no titles have been added for this edition to the poems in the Gondal notebook.[49] There are examples of all of the editorial practices cited above, in the EJB notebook, but by far the most usual practice of editing for 1846 is in changing the text of the poem without making any visible marks on the holograph. This indicates to me that in these circumstances Emily Brontë edited for the published edition as she copied out her poems for the printer.

As already shown, there have been suggestions that Charlotte carried out the editing for *Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell*, but her own correspondence with Aylott and Jones suggests that this was not the case. On 13 March 1846 she wrote:

> I return you the 2nd. Proof – The Authors have finally decided that they would prefer having all the proofs sent to them in turn but you need not enclose the M.S. as they can correct the errors from memory [50]

If Charlotte had been responsible for the changes that are apparent in the textual differences between the EJB holograph and the 1846 edition she would have been unlikely to have retained them all in her memory, as many had not been recorded in the notebook. It is far more likely that the 'Authors' referred to here were Emily and Anne, as well as Charlotte herself, who would each have been familiar enough with their own poems to be able to correct the proofs from memory.

'How clear she shines! How quietly' (EJB 23) contains examples of three different types of editing. The original second line of the poem is 'I lie beneath her silver light'. In the notebook the word 'gardian' has been written above 'silver', but the original word has not been crossed out. In 1846 the line reads 'I lie beneath her guardian light'. The word 'gardian' in the notebook is faint, but it bears a strong resemblance to Emily's small print hand. The second line of the third stanza of the same poem reads 'Grim world, go hide thee till the day;'. In 1846 this line reads 'Grim world, conceal thee till the day;', but no changes are apparent in the notebook. The final line of the ninth stanza originally read 'And Joy the shortest

[49] There are, however, added titles to poems in the Gondal notebook that were not included in the 1846 edition.
[50] Charlotte Brontë to Aylott and Jones, 13 March 1846, Smith ed. (1995), p.458.

path to pain', but 'shortest' has been crossed through quite faintly, and 'surest' written above, equally faintly, but again, in Emily's hand. The 1846 edition uses the word 'surest'. This suggest to me that the final change, that in the ninth stanza, was intended to be retained in the notebook version of the poem. But the earlier two were not intended to change the text of the notebook. 'Gardian' appears as an alternative rather than a substitution, and 'conceal thee' was never written into the notebook at all.

'Enough of Thought, Philosopher,' (EJB 27) is possibly the most intriguing study in editorial annotation for the 1846 edition, and an interpretation of this is helped, indirectly, by the information given by the Gondal notebook. Both the photograph and the facsimile copy of this poem show that the final, four-line, stanza has been crossed out word for word, and that an alternative four-line stanza has been inserted beneath the poem. In his transcript of the EJB notebook Davidson Cook makes a very brave attempt to interpret the erased stanza and concludes that it reads:

> O, for the lid that cannot weep
> The breast that needs no breath
> The tomb that brings eternal sleep
> The traitor's Deliverer, Death![51]

The new stanza that has been written beneath it says:

> O let me die that power and will
> Their cruel strife may close
> And vanquished Good victorious Ill
> Be lost in one repose[52]

This new stanza is written over the final three lines that originally marked the end of the poem, and it also surrounds the date of the following poem. Both of these circumstances indicate that the substitution was made at least after transcription of EJB 28, 'Ah! why, because the dazzeling sun'. This likelihood has been noted by several editors, including Derek Roper.[53] Janet Gezari considers that the lines were added 'very likely when the poem was being prepared for publication'.[54] Her wording

---

[51] Emily Brontë (1845), Cook, ed. (May 1926). Hatfield, ed. (1941) gives the alternative reading as:

> O for the lid that cannot weep,
> The Breast that needs no breath-
> The tomb that brings eternal sleep-
> For Life's Deliverer, Death!

This second version is based on the annotations initialled by Helen Brown on Cook's 1926 transcription.

[52] E. Brontë (1845).

[53] Roper, ed. (1995), p.266.

[54] Gezari, ed. (1992), p.228.

here suggests conjecture, but I propose that she is correct, and that a close scrutiny of the photograph provides empirical evidence.[55]

I have already noted that the small <o>s are the only marginal markers to survive in the EJB notebook, and that even they may have been subject to some editing. By this I mean that we cannot be sure that some have not been erased. There are nine surviving <o>s in the notebook, and of these, five are above poems that were chosen for 1846. EJB 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28 all retain their small <o>s, and these poems were all selected for *Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell*. The evidence from the Gondal notebook strongly suggests that the <o> was a selection mark for that edition, and a close examination of the new final stanza of 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher' (EJB 27) shows that as well as being written over the decorative lines that originally concluded the poem, the word 'vanquished' is also written over a small <o> that had been added beneath those lines and so above the following poem. This section of the holograph is apparently a palimpsest on which its history is evident. The story that it tells is that Emily transcribed the original version of 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher', followed by 'Ah! why, because the dazzeling sun.' During the selection procedure for 1846 she added the small <o>s above both poems, indicating her wish to include them in that edition. Once the selection procedure was completed she began transcription of her selected poems for the new edition. I have said that some of the textual changes that were made for 1846 appear in the notebook, and that some do not. It must have been after the selection for 1846 that she not only edited the poem for the new edition but also decided that the changes that she had made should be incorporated into the notebook. This particular poem is headed 'The Philosopher' in 1846, but the photograph of the holograph shows that the title 'The Philosopher's conclusion' has been added quite faintly in Emily's handwriting. It seems likely that she added that title before she edited the final stanza, as the 'conclusion' that the philosopher originally reached was somewhat more dramatic than the one that remained in the final version. Perhaps the title seemed less apposite once the new verse had been composed. But notably, although she changed the title for 1846, she did not erase the original title from the notebook. That title does, after all, relate to the question asked by the 'Seer' in the first stanza of the poem.

The evidence suggests that Emily made several revisions to the text of the EJB notebook as she was preparing her poems for 1846. In my view this indicates an effort to maintain the integrity of the notebook, to ensure that it remained a

[55] It should be noted that Janet Gezari only had recourse to the Shakespeare Head facsimile when preparing her 1992 edition and had not yet seen the photographs.

discrete piece of work, despite the changes that were being made for the new edition.

The Implications of the Editing for 1846 on Future Editions of the Poems

The 1846 edition of *Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell* was the first stage in the removal of the EJB poems from the context of the notebook, and its effects on the presentation and the reading of the poems have continued to the present day.

In his 1984 paper on 'The Revision of Emily Brontë's Poems of 1846' Derek Roper agrees that the MS evidence supports the view that Emily was the main editor of her poems for that edition.[56] But after making a detailed and thorough examination of the revisions for 1846 he concludes that because Emily was the most likely editor of her poems for 1846 these were her 'last revisions', and therefore:

> […] the best course in general for an editor of these twenty-one poems appears to be to take his verbal readings from the printed texts.[57]

This is a view that he reiterates in his 1995 edition of the poems.[58]

Janet Gezari (1992), takes the printed versions of the 1846 poems as her copy-text, and says:

> All that stands against our giving full value to the 1846 text of Emily Brontë's poems as the text she wished to have presented to the public is the long tradition of viewing publication as alien or irrelevant to her genius.[59]

She goes on to suggest that this is a result of Charlotte's description of Emily's displeasure at the finding of the poems. This gives a clear view of the 'lexicon' perspective on Emily's attitude to the publication of her poems, but to use it as an argument against maintaining the integrity of the text of the EJB notebook, is, I think, mistaken. The evidence of different styles of revisions on the holograph, and in some cases the complete absence of revisions where the text of a poem differs in 1846 from its MS version, suggests that more thought is needed in making editorial decisions for these poems.

My conclusion, as a result of the examination that I have made of the differences in text between 1846 and the EJB notebook, together with the differing styles of revision, is that the two versions should each stand alone. The revisions

[56] Roper (1984), pp.155-156.
[57] Roper (1984), pp.155-156.
[58] Roper, ed. (1995), p.27.
[59] Gezari, ed. (1992), pp.xix-xx.

that appear in the 1846 edition were aimed at preparing those poems for publication, and for acceptance by the reading public of 1846. I have shown that some of the poems remain unaltered in the notebook, and that some, such as 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher,' have had their 1846 revisions added to the holograph version. This suggests an intention that the final 1846 publication should not supersede the poems of the notebook, but that we should be left with two distinct sets of poems. The poems published in 1846 contain the final authorial revisions for that edition, but the versions of the poems that remain in the notebook, should retain their notebook form and be viewed in that context, as a discrete work.

Charlotte Brontë's Revisions for 1850

The second group of EJB poems to be published during the nineteenth century (see Figure 3.1) appeared in the 1850 Smith Elder edition of *Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey*. The edition was edited by Charlotte Brontë and had appended a selection of poems by her two sisters.

Chapter One gives a detailed description of Charlotte's revisions to the EJB poems that she included in this edition. This chapter looks for evidence of those revisions on the holograph. If, as I concluded in the previous section, Emily's later revisions to the holograph should be considered by editors to be her final revisions to these poems within their notebook context, then it is crucial that revisions in other hands, and from other sources, should be recognised, so that they can be excluded from that category.

The 1850 edition contains seventeen poems purporting to be by Emily Brontë. One of these is 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning', which I argue in Chapter One is Charlotte's own composition. My view is that it was written to summarise the picture of Emily given by Charlotte in the Biographical Notice and the Preface, both of which were first printed in the 1850 edition; and that it was supported by the order in which she placed Emily's poems. Of the remaining sixteen poems, eight were taken from the EJB notebook, and eight from the Gondal. As with the examination of the editing for the 1846 edition, the Gondal notebook provides valuable information and evidence for a study of the editing for this edition. Equally, in order to recognise and understand working practices that relate to the 1850 edition, it is sometimes necessary to return to the preparation for 1846, to distinguish between patterns and approaches, and therefore to differentiate between probable, or possible, editors.

As already shown in Chapter One, the text of many of the poems published by Charlotte under Emily's name in 1850, varies substantially from the versions

found in the EJB notebook. But not all these revisions appear on the holograph.[60] It is also clear that annotations that apparently relate to the 1850 edition are made in more than one style of handwriting, sometimes in a print hand and sometimes in cursive script. This does not necessarily mean that the annotations were made by two different people. In fact, it is evident that there are instances where the style of writing changes within a single annotation.

There are three aspects that should be considered in an examination of the editorial revisions for 1850 that relate to the EJB notebook. These are: the titles given to the poems, the annotations on the MS that relate to revisions to the text, and the absence of marks on the MS in poems that have been changed for the 1850 edition.

When investigating the titles it is necessary to combine and contrast evidence from the Gondal and EJB notebooks, and from the 1846 and 1850 editions. Of the sixteen poems that Charlotte took from the two notebooks to include in the 1850 edition,[61] eleven are published with titles. Of these titled poems, three are from the EJB notebook, and the remaining eight constitute all the poems that she took from the Gondal notebook. The three EJB poems that have been given titles are: 'The Bluebell is the sweetest flower'[62] (The Bluebell), 'In summer's mellow midnight' (The Night-Wind), and 'Love is like the wild rose-briar' (Love and Friendship). The five remaining EJB poems appear without titles in 1850. A search for the three titles on the MS is inconclusive. There is no title above 'The blue bell is the sweetest flower' (EJB 4)[63] on the photograph of the MS, and none immediately apparent above 'Love is like the wild rose briar' (EJB 15). Hatfield gives the title of EJB 15 in his 1941 edition and his source for the EJB poems is the transcript and photographs that were supplied to him by Davidson Cook. A close examination of the digital image of the photograph reveals what might be some very faint writing above the three decorative lines at the top of the poem, but it seems that if there was writing there, some attempt may have been made to erase it.

The third EJB poem, 'In summer's mellow midnight' is the one that demands further consideration. There is a title, 'The night wind' written faintly in what looks like Emily's small print hand, above the decorative lines at the top of the poem. Davidson Cook attributes this to Emily,[64] and Hatfield puts the title above the poem

[60] It is questionable as to whether the two notebooks should continue to be referred to as holographs, as it will become apparent that they contain annotations in more than one hand, in addition to the marginal marks already noted.
[61] This consideration will exclude 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning' which does not appear in either notebook.
[62] The text given here is Charlotte's revised 1850 text, not that which appears in the EJB notebook.
[63] Text from EJB notebook.
[64] Cook, ed. (May 1926).

in his edition, which seems to indicate a tacit attribution.[65] Janet Gezari considers that the title is Emily's,[66] but Derek Roper thinks that it may have been added by either Emily or Charlotte.[67] The dilemma over the provenance of this title is potentially exacerbated by the titles that appear over the 1850 poems in the Gondal notebook. As stated, every one of these has been given a title, and several of them have been added in a print hand that could be either Emily's or Charlotte's. An added complication is that not all the titles that appear over the Gondal poems are the same as the titles in the final 1850 edition, which suggests the possibility that they may have been added by Emily rather than Charlotte. For example, G.14, which begins, I knew not 'twas so dire a crime' has 'Love's Farewell' pencilled above it in small print on the MS, but it appears in 1850 as 'Last Words'. Also, G.31, 'Listen! When your hair like mine', has 'T Old Man's lecture' pencilled above it on the MS, but appears as 'The Elder's Rebuke' in 1850. In this instance 'T Old' is written in small print, but 'Man's lecture' is in cursive script.

It could be possible that the titles that differ from those printed in 1850 were added by Emily, but for one consideration. An examination of the 1846 poems from the EJB notebook reveals that six out of the fifteen poems have titles pencilled above them on the MS. These titles were all added in small print and are the titles that appear in the published edition.[68] A further two of the fifteen have had the tops of the poems obscured in the photographs so that it is not possible to see whether titles have been added.[69] In contrast to this, none of the six Gondal poems that appeared in 1846 have titles added in the notebook, although they are titled in the 1846 edition. I think that to understand why this happened, and to apply the knowledge to the current investigation, it is necessary to think back to my view that Emily made efforts to maintain the integrity of the EJB notebook through her editing practice. The same phenomenon is apparent here, but this time she intends to preserve the integrity of the Gondal notebook. The 1846 titles that have been added to the EJB poems on the MS are all in keeping with the purpose of the poems within the notebook context. But to add titles to the Gondal poems, allowing them to stand alone for reading by the public, would of necessity, remove them from their Gondal context. That the titles that are now visible in that notebook were Charlotte's and not Emily's, is supported by the fact that the only poems that carry pencilled titles in the

[65] Hatfield, ed. (1941), p.146.
[66] Gezari, ed. (1992), p.264.
[67] Roper, ed. (1995), p.249.
[68] Apart from the change from 'The Philosopher's conclusion' to 'The Philosopher', which has already been noted.
[69] These are 'Ah! why, because the dazzling sun' (EJB 28), which has the top of the poem obscured by the over-writing which resulted from Emily's revision of the final stanza of 'Enough of Thought'. And 'How beautiful the Earth is still' (EJB 30), which has had the top of the page cut out on the EJB photographs. EJB 30 is titled 'Anticipation' in 1846.

Gondal notebook are also accompanied by Charlotte's <+> sign for 1850 (see Table 3.1).

To carry this further, it is now necessary to look at the EJB poems that Charlotte chose for 1850. Of these, the only one that certainly has an added title is 'In summer's mellow midnight', a poem which is also headed by what I consider to be Emily's <o> sign for 1846. I think it most likely that Emily added the title to the poem when she made her initial choice for 1846, and although the poem was not on the final list of those selected, it retained its title in the notebook. 'Love is like the wild rose briar', which may, or may not have had a title on the MS, also carries Emily's <o>, so if this argument is correct, that poem could also have been given a title by Emily during the selection procedure.

The conclusion that I draw from this examination is that Emily added titles to several of her selected poems for 1846 in the EJB notebook, but not in the Gondal notebook where titles would affect the meaning of the poems within their Gondal context. The titles added to the Gondal poems in 1850 have, in my view, been added by Charlotte. But she retained Emily's own titles for the poems that she took from the EJB notebook. In the one instance where she added her own title to an EJB poem ('The blue bell is the sweetest flower', EJB 4), she did not write the title into the notebook.

Charlotte's Editing Practice

A comparison of the final published versions of the 1850 poems with the MS versions gives some indication of the editing process employed by Charlotte in her preparation for that volume. When she wrote of her work on the 1850 edition to Ellen Nussey in October 1850, she said, 'I have been closely engaged in revising, transcribing – preparing a Preface – Notice &c.',[70] Evidence suggests that this statement describes her working practice accurately.

Of the eight EJB poems that were published by Charlotte in 1850, only three have editorial annotations on the MS, and yet all but one are revised in the final edition, some substantially. The three poems that have been annotated are: 'A little while, a little while' (EJB 2), 'The blue bell is the sweetest flower' (EJB 4), and 'In summer's mellow midnight' (EJB 7). The annotations that appear on the MS version of these poems are in cursive script, and are, with some very slight variations, carried over into the published version. In the fifth stanza of 'A little while, a little while' the annotator has crossed out 'the garden-walk' and has replaced it with 'the gable grey'. This is a phrase that Charlotte uses in her own poem

[70] Charlotte Brontë to Ellen Nussey, 3 October 1850, Smith, ed. (2000), pp.481-482.

'Mementos' from *Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell*: 'And outside all is ivy, clinging | To chimney, lattice, gable grey'.[71] The use of it here emphasises the likelihood that the cursive annotations are Charlotte's. But it seems that this was only the first part of the editorial process. Charlotte said that she was engaged in revising and transcribing, and it seems likely that what is visible on the MS was the first part of the revising process. She then went on to transcribe, and at that stage she continued to make editorial changes, including the composition of extra stanzas for 'Aye there it is! It wakes tonight' (EJB 9).

That Charlotte employed this two-stage way of working is illustrated by the development of 'Silent is the House – all are laid asleep' from the Gondal notebook. This poem appears in 1850 as 'The Visionary' and it comprises the first three stanzas of Emily's original poem, with the substitution of only one word, which revision does not appear on the MS. The title 'The Signal light' has been pencilled in cursive script above these stanzas in the notebook. When the poem was published, Charlotte had added a further two stanzas which describe a visitation by a 'Strange Power', and she had changed the title from 'The Signal light' to 'The Visionary'. This suggests that 'The Signal light', her first title, only referred to the first three stanzas, which describe a 'little lamp' that is trimmed to guide a wanderer across the snow. But when she reached the transcription stage of her editing, she decided to add two verses of her own composition. It was these stanzas, with their visionary emphasis, that changed the focus of the poem and necessitated a change of title.

This consideration of the annotations on the MS suggests that although an examination of handwriting is important in this exercise, the study and comparison of patterns, and of editorial behaviour, is an equally effective device to employ in the investigation of provenance.

The Nicholls Transcripts

By the time of Charlotte's marriage to her father's curate, Arthur Bell Nicholls, in June 1854, twenty-three of the thirty-one EJB poems had been published. Fifteen appeared in 1846, and eight in 1850. A further eight poems from the notebook remained unpublished. The discussion on the selection of poems for 1846 describes two marginal markers that did not refer to either the 1846 or the 1850 editions. These were a large <O> and the initials <ABN>. In relation to the Gondal notebook (see Table 3.1) these markers relate to the poems that Arthur Bell Nicholls transcribed into two separate notebooks at some time between 1854 and 1895.[72]

[71] Charlotte Brontë, 'Mementos', Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë (1846).
[72] The exact date of transcription is uncertain. It may have begun before Charlotte's death, but it was certainly completed by 1895 when the transcription which I will refer to as the 'Huntington transcript' left Nicholls' possession, together with the EJB notebook.

After the deaths of Branwell, Emily and Anne Brontë, between September 1848 and May 1849, Charlotte was left in sole possession of their remaining holographs, and when she died on 31 March 1855 her husband was her beneficiary. Nicholls remained at Haworth until the Reverend Patrick Brontë's death in 1861, after which he returned to Ireland where he married again and lived at Banagher, his birthplace. He remained there until his death in 1906.

At some time between 1854 and 1895 Nicholls made two transcripts of Brontë poems. Both are handwritten. One is headed 'Poems of Emily Jane Brontë' and contains the eight, at that time unpublished, poems from the EJB notebook together with twenty-six Gondal poems, also unpublished.[73] The second transcript contains these thirty-four poems by Emily, as well as some poems by Charlotte.[74]

The transcript that is of significance to this discussion, and which is referred to in Figure 1, is the one headed 'Poems by Emily Brontë', which I will refer to as the 'Huntington transcript'. This is the transcript that left Nicholls' possession in 1895, and which influenced several future editions of Emily's poems.

The Huntington transcript is written in a lined notebook in cursive script. A consideration of the EJB poems that Nicholls transcribed into this book suggests that his aim was to transcribe all of Emily's poems that had not yet been published. But when the Gondal poems are included it becomes apparent that he did not transcribe all the unpublished poems. Table 3.2 lists the six previously unpublished Gondal poems that were not transcribed by Nicholls. Of the twenty-six Gondal poems that he did transcribe (see Table 3.1) sixteen also carry the <o> mark, which I suggest was Emily's mark for 1846, and four have the <+> sign, which also accompanies all Charlotte's choices for 1850. Eight poems have no additional mark. Of the six untranscribed poems only one carries a marginal mark, 'Come the wind may never again', which has the <o>. I think that this suggests that he did take some account of the earlier choices made by the sisters when he made his own selection, and also that he had had the selection system explained to him, possibly by Charlotte.

As with the 1850 edition, the text of the poems in Nicholls' transcript varies from the notebook versions in several instances. Each of the poems is headed by the word 'copied' and the date that Emily originally wrote into her notebooks. A scrutiny of the transcript suggests that rather than making intentional revisions, as Charlotte did, some effort has been made to remain true to the MS. But there are many inaccuracies. The transcription of EJB 5, 'Fair sinks the summer evening now'

[73] Nicholls, trans., HM 2581.
[74] This MS remained in the Nicholls' household until a year prior to his wife's death in 1915, when it was sold together with other effects. It is now in the Pierpont Morgan Bonnell Collection, New York.

is particularly thought-provoking. The MS version of this poem is unusual because, like some of the poems that Charlotte revised for 1850, it contains cursive corrections. But it did not appear in 1850. The third line of the third stanza originally read, 'To 'scape from labour's tyrant power'[75], but the word 'tyrant' has been lightly crossed through and 'some light' written above in cursive script. The fifth and sixth stanzas have been crossed through with an <X> which covers both stanzas, and the final stanza contains three cursive revisions.

Nicholls' transcription of this poem is, oddly, both painstaking and careless. At first he seems to have tried to reproduce the poem as it appears on the page. The early revisions are written above the line, as they appear on the MS, but with some mistakes. He crosses through the word 'labour's' instead of 'tyrant'. He also (presumably accidentally) omits the last two words from the second line of the first stanza. The <X> that scores through the fifth and sixth stanzas is reproduced in his transcription, but the cursive revisions from the MS are fully incorporated into his final stanza, so that there is no sign that the stanza was revised. This could mean that the revisions were his own, but a comparison of the cursive script in this poem matches very closely that in 'A little while, a little while' which Charlotte revised for 1850. In fact, the word 'still' appears in the revisions of both poems and is formed in the same way in both sets of revisions. This change in procedure for the final stanza is curious and suggests that Charlotte may have been alive and present when this poem was transcribed. It is possible that she had originally intended this poem for the 1850 edition and had revised it accordingly. But that when she did not include it she suggested, during its transcription, that Nicholls should fully incorporate her revisions into the text, as she had done when revising and transcribing Emily's poems for 1850.

The possibility of Charlotte's presence during transcription is supported by two further considerations. 'Fair sinks the summer evening now' is preceded by 'How still, how happy! those are words' (EJB 3) in the transcript. The word 'words' has been written above Emily's 'words' at the end of the first line in the MS. A comparison of the annotation with the same word in the transcript indicates that it was almost certainly written by the same hand. Emily's 'words' is unclear, and it seems that Nicholls had struggled to read it, and so had written the word clearly above it to aid him in his transcription. The fact that he had written it onto the MS suggests that he may have had help in deciphering Emily's print, and had written it down so that he would remember when he came to complete the transcription.

[75] E. Brontë, 'Fair sinks the summer evening now', 30 August 1839.

The second circumstance that suggests the possibility that Charlotte was still alive when the Huntington transcript was made concerns the word ‘copied’, which has been written above each poem. The second transcript, which is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, contains poems by Charlotte as well as by Emily. I think it possible that this second transcript was made after Charlotte’s death, and that Nicholls copied Emily’s poems into it from his first transcript as well as adding Charlotte’s. The word ‘copied’ is written in different ink from the rest of the transcript and stands out on each page, suggesting that it may have been added later.

Of the eight EJB poems transcribed by Nicholls, six contain textual differences, or inaccuracies, and all differ from the notebook versions in punctuation. This was the final stage of the nineteenth-century removal of the poems from their notebook context.

The EJB Poems in 1895

By 1895 there were, in existence, five incarnations of the EJB poems, although only one was complete. This was the original notebook which was authored by Emily Brontë and whose visible revisions are attributable to her. The evidence of the holograph indicates that the EJB poems in the 1846 edition were edited for publication by Emily. But scrutiny of both the Gondal and EJB notebooks suggests that the choice of poems for the edition was a collective effort – the result of collaboration between the three sisters. The poems selected by Charlotte for the 1850 volume were chosen, revised, and added to by her. Finally, the remaining poems were transcribed, somewhat inaccurately, by Arthur Bell Nicholls, possibly with guidance from Charlotte.

It is evident that this study of the history and textual transmission of the poems from their notebook source does not rely on an analysis of handwriting alone. The age and condition of the EJB photographs means that in this area some uncertainties are inevitable. Multi-spectral imaging of the notebook, if it becomes available for scrutiny, might be able to give more definitive answers in the future. But at present the patterns of editorial behaviour which a study of both the EJB and Gondal notebooks makes possible are vitally important to an understanding of the shared authorship of the poems as they move into the twentieth-century.

[This page has been left intentionally blank]

Chapter Four: The Wise and Shorter Years

By 1895 all the poems of the EJB notebook had been reproduced in at least one other volume, whether published or transcribed (Figure 3.1). But none of these secondary volumes presents the poems in exactly the form in which they appear in the original notebook. They all differ in sequence, many differ in text, and all differ in punctuation. They were not re-presented in the form and context which I argue supports Emily Brontë's exploration of the philosophy that she had formulated, and that almost certainly had its roots in the intellectual systems which I consider she encountered during her year in Belgium. But it was these volumes that went on to inform future publication and reading of the EJB poems.

The events that followed the production of these three volumes took the poems further from their original contextual setting in the notebook. In this chapter I explore the likelihood that this continued distancing was the result of a business partnership between two men: the journalist Clement King Shorter, and the book-collector and forger Thomas James Wise. The climate that encouraged the birth of this partnership developed in the years between Charlotte Brontë's death in 1855, and the removal of many of the Brontë MSS from the guardianship of her husband Arthur Bell Nicholls, in 1895.[1] Here, I scrutinise the contextual roots of the Shorter - Wise relationship and describe the literary and commercial situation that encouraged such a partnership.

An examination of the historical evidence suggests that the association began because both men had very distinct interests that they each believed would be served by collaboration with the other. In terms of Emily Brontë's poems what emerges is a business partnership from which two branches grew. The Shorter branch affected editorial decisions, and public and critical knowledge of the poems and their texts until at least 1934. The Wise branch also affected early twentieth-century publication, but most importantly, it continues to hamper our capacity to gain information from the EJB notebook, and from many other Brontë MSS and apparent holographs in the present day. This chapter details as far as possible, both the misinformation and the missing information that have resulted from Shorter's and Wise's activities.

[1] This removal did not include the Gondal notebook, which Arthur Bell Nicholls retained until his death in 1906, and which was then kept by his second wife, his cousin Mary Anna Bell.

Publication in the early part of the twentieth-century continued to be fragmentary and was often textually inaccurate. The second part of the 'post-genetic' diagram (Figure 4.1) shows the four editions of Brontë collections, and of Emily's poetry, that were published in the early part of the twentieth-century. It is apparent from the diagram that the first three of these editions had their roots in the three volumes (1846, 1850, and the Huntington transcript) that were described in the previous chapter. But these early twentieth-century editions were also affected both by the editorial decisions that were made, and by the variable textual transmissions that occurred because of the Shorter – Wise partnership.

The criticism that appeared during this time was frequently both astute and truly critical. It had a role in discovering and uncovering textual inaccuracies, and in attempting to hold editors accountable for their decisions. I review the contemporaneous criticism and consider its potential for influencing the next stage of editorial choice and so of publication history.

The Nineteenth-Century Context

The years between the publication of Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* in 1857 and the removal of many of the Brontë MSS from Nicholls' keeping in 1895, involved a gradual rekindling of interest in the Brontës and their works. This interest fell into two categories - the literary and the biographical. Gaskell's *Life* acted as a catalyst for both, sparking fresh critical reviews of the works and a long-lasting fascination with Brontë biography. It was in response to Gaskell's *Life* that T. Wemyss Reid wrote his monograph on Charlotte Brontë in 1877.[2] The monograph elicited a response from Algernon Charles Swinburne who published *A Note on Charlotte Brontë* in the same year,[3] and in turn Leslie Stephen responded to Swinburne in the *Cornhill Magazine* of December 1877.[4] Both Swinburne and Stephen take a literary approach to their pieces, focussing for the main part on the work of the Brontës. But, given the biographical perspective on the family begun by Gaskell and continued by Reid, even Swinburne and Stephen were unable to avoid discussing the work of the Brontës without connecting it to the recent revelations of their lives. It was the growing interest in Brontë biography that created the commercial market into which Wise and Shorter moved at the beginning of the 1890s.

[2] T. Wemyss Reid, *Charlotte Brontë: A Monograph* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1877).
[3] Algernon Charles Swinburne, *A Note on Charlotte Brontë* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1877).
[4] Leslie Stephen, 'Charlotte Brontë', *Cornhill Magazine*, December 1877, pp.723-729.

In the preface to his work on Charlotte Brontë, Reid refers to the help that was given him by Charlotte's life-long friend Ellen Nussey. He thanks her for the access that she allowed him to some of the letters in her possession.[5] The importance of Nussey's letters to Brontë biography had first been recognised by Patrick Brontë and Arthur Bell Nicholls soon after Charlotte's death.

In June 1855, three months after she died, *Sharpe's London Magazine* published an article which gave an inaccurate account of Charlotte's life, together with criticism of *Jane Eyre*.[6] The article upset Ellen, who suggested to Patrick Brontë that he should ask a writer such as Elizabeth Gaskell, who had known Charlotte, to write a definitive account of her life to try to halt the appearance of such articles. On 24 July 1855 Arthur Bell Nicholls wrote to Ellen saying that Mr Brontë has 'accepted your suggestion and applied to Mrs Gaskell who has undertaken to write a life of Charlotte.'[7] He went on to say that

> Mrs Gaskell is allowed to see any of her letters […] Especially those of any early date – I think I understand you to say that you had some – if so we should feel obliged by your letting us have any, that you may think proper – not for publication but merely to give the writer an insight into her mode of thought – of course they will be returned after a little time[8]

Gaskell eventually made use of 330 of Ellen's letters in her work.[9] After the publication of *The Life* Ellen continued to make some attempts to publish her letters, or to use them in the creation of new memoirs of Charlotte. Margaret Smith gives a detailed and impressively researched account of the history of the letters in the first volume of her collection of Charlotte's letters,[10] so it is not necessary to reiterate in detail Ellen's activities in relation to them. What is most important to this discussion is to recognise the proliferating interest in the letters, fostered partly by Ellen herself, and partly by the flow of potential biographers who approached her to request her collaboration and the use of her letters.

Ellen Nussey's own correspondence details the difficulties that she faced in her dealings with her Brontë letters.[11] She was apparently torn three ways - between

---

[5] Reid (1877).
[6] 'A Few Words About Jane Eyre', *Sharpe's London Magazine of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading,* June 1855, pp.339-342.
[7] Arthur Bell Nicholls to Ellen Nussey, 24 July 1855, 'Letters of A.B. Nicholls to Ellen Nussey', U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C11.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Smith, ed. (1995), p.28.
[10] 'The History of the Letters', Smith, ed. (1995), pp.27-71.
[11] 'The Correspondents to Miss E. Nussey Relating to Charlotte Brontë' (Typewritten transcript, originals in the BPM), U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C13 (This bound volume of transcripts is headed 'Correspondents to Miss E. Nussey' but it also contains many letters written by Ellen Nussey).

a need to present to the world what she perceived to be an acceptable picture of Charlotte, a desire for some financial recompense, and the need for the satisfaction of knowing that the letters would be safe after her death. It is also apparent that she found it difficult to continue to trust the people with whom she attempted to collaborate.

Events suggest that Ellen's ownership of the letters and her activities and wishes in respect of them became quite widely recognised in the increasingly commercialised literary world of the late 1880s and early 1890s. During 1878 she had been corresponding with George Smith of Smith Elder, and had asked him about the likely 'marketable value' of her letters. He replied that he could give no opinion on the value of the letters and that:

> It however occurs to me to suggest to you, that if the Revd. Mr Nicholls be alive, or if, in the event of his death, he has left an executor, it is doubtful if you can legally sell his late wife's letters to the Trustees of the British Museum without his sanction, […][12]

It was also George Smith, writing to Ellen in 1869, who explained to her that although she owned the physical letters that had been sent to her by Charlotte, she did not actually own the copyright:

> I am afraid that I must suggest a difficulty in regard to the publication of Miss Brontë's letters to you which may not have occurred to your mind. The right to print these letters (otherwise the copyright in those letters) belongs to Mr Nicholls not to you. The letters themselves are your property and Mr. Nicholls cannot claim them from you, but you cannot print them without his permission.[13]

This was apparently unwelcome news to Ellen, who either forgot it entirely, or chose to ignore it, because it was reiterated to her by several different people over the next twenty years.

In December1889 Ellen received a letter from Augustine Birrell, a writer, politician and barrister, who had helped her to retrieve some of her letters after an abortive attempt at collaboration with the antiquarian Joseph Horsfall Turner. [14] Birrell said:

---

[12] George Smith to Ellen Nussey, 10 May 1878, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C13.
[13] George Smith to Ellen Nussey, 18 January 1869, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C13.
[14] Ellen Nussey and Joseph Horsfall Turner collaborated on the production of a biography of Charlotte Brontë, based on Ellen's letters, between 1885 and 1889. The result was a biography which, at Ellen's insistence, was destroyed after printing. J. Horsfall Turner, *The Story of the Brontës: Their Home, Haunts, Friends and Works* (Printed for J. Horsfall Turner, Idel, Bradford; by Thomas Harrison and Sons, Bingley, 1885-9). Smith, ed. (1995), p. 48, lists the whereabouts of several surviving editions.

> I see the Press gossipers have got [the] whole of the story – I suppose through Mr. Turner, certainly not through me, I have no dealings with the Vile brood. The 'Star' the other day advertised for Mr Nicholls, with what results I don't know.[15]

Birrell's observation is significant and suggests the beginnings of the next stage in the history of the Brontë MSS. *The Star* was founded in 1888, and from the early days of the newspaper the journalist Clement King Shorter wrote a 'weekly column of gossip about books in it for a guinea a week.' [16] Shorter had edited an edition of *Jane Eyre* earlier that year, [17] but it is possible that this advertisement in *The Star* was his first foray into the world of Brontë biography.

Birrell's next letter to Ellen suggests that the press did not hold the same horror for her as they did for the barrister. Ellen had evidently replied to Birrell's previous letter and in response he said:

> My advice is to have no dealings with the gentlemen of the Press. Civil, of course they are civil, that is their business, at first. The young gentleman you name is a very fair specimen of his trade, which is to find out whatever he can, and then print it.[18]

It is conjecture to suggest that the young gentleman of the press referred to here was Clement Shorter, but the connection to *The Star* indicates that it probably was. And certainly, by the next month Shorter and Nussey were corresponding. In a letter dated January 1890 Shorter thanks Ellen for warning him against collaboration with Wemyss Reid, and he tells her that he would like to write a book about the Brontës of which she would approve.[19] His letters over the following months detail his ambitions concerning publications on the Brontës, and he continues to ask for information. In one (undated) letter he tells her that he has discovered that Nicholls is still alive, a discovery probably made as a result of the advertisement in *The Star*. It seems likely that the pressure of Shorter's requests was beginning to weigh on Ellen, because on 6 September 1890 she wrote advising him to take his time in establishing himself as a literary man. In the same letter she describes herself as

---

There are also some copies remaining in the BPM, one of which is annotated by both Horsfall Turner and Ellen Nussey.

[15] Augustine Birrell to Ellen Nussey, 2 December 1889, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C13.

[16] Clement King Shorter, *C.K.S. An Autobiography: A Fragment by Himself*, J.M. Bulloch, ed. (Privately Issued for Mrs C.K. Shorter by Constable and Company, London, 1927), p.52.

[17] Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre: An Autobiography*, ed. Clement K. Shorter (London: Walter Scott, 1889) Camelot Series.

[18] Augustine Burrill to Ellen Nussey, 6 December 1889, U of L SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C13.

[19] Clement Shorter to Ellen Nussey, January 1890, BPM, TA.51.13.

inexperienced in 'worldly ways and motives' and asks that he does not add to her present problems.[20] After this date their correspondence lapses while Ellen attempts to publish the letters through the American publisher Scribner, who had previously published her account of 'Reminiscences of Charlotte Brontë.'[21] She told Charles Scribner that she had been 'so worried and teased by Press people grasping at the letters, […]'.[22]

But when the arrangement with Scribner's was unsuccessful Ellen returned to Shorter, who said that he would do what he could with her letters if she would send them to him.[23] He consulted his solicitor about the question of the copyright and was told (as George Smith had told Ellen in 1869) that the copyright remained with Nicholls, whom Shorter now knew to be still living. Shorter's solution was that Ellen should sell her letters to a friend of his who 'buys literary letters for their own sakes […]',[24] and that he [Shorter] would then use them to write a life of Charlotte Brontë. By 20 October 1892 Ellen had been told the identity of the 'friend'- Thomas James Wise, a book-collector and bibliographer who, Shorter told her, 'can be thoroughly relied upon'.[25] Wise is now remembered most widely for his activities as a forger, evidence of which came to light in 1934 when John Carter and Graham Pollard published an exposition of his activities.[26] But when he first became involved in the acquisition of Brontë MSS he was a reputable book collector and bibliographer.

By this time it seems that two of Ellen's concerns regarding the letters had been addressed. The definitive account of Charlotte's life was to be written using her letters, and she was to have financial recompense. Wise's letter to her of 12 November 1892 addresses her third concern. Wise must have received a letter from Ellen expressing regret at agreeing to sell the letters, and suggesting that he pay her more than the £125 originally agreed. In his reply[27] Wise says that he does not want the letters for commercial purposes – he intends to bequeath them to the South Kensington Museum.[28] Ellen replied:

---

[20] Ellen Nussey to Clement Shorter, 6 September 1890, BPM, TA.451.17.
[21] Ellen Nussey, 'Reminiscences of Charlotte Brontë', *Scribner's Monthly*, May 1871, Vol II, no. 1, pp.18-31.
[22] Ellen Nussey to Charles Scribner, 16 June 1891, U of L SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C13.
[23] Clement Shorter to Ellen Nussey, June 1892, BPM, TA.451.23.
[24] Clement Shorter to Ellen Nussey, 20 September 1892, BPM, TA.451.28.
[25] Clement Shorter to Ellen Nussey, BPM, TA.451.30.
[26] John Carter and Graham Pollard, *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* (London: Constable and Co., 1934).
[27] T.J. Wise to Ellen Nussey, 12 November 1892, BPM, TA.451.32.
[28] The South Kensington Museum had been opened by Queen Victoria on 22 June 1857. The name was changed to the Victoria and Albert Museum (V and A) in 1899.

> I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter this morning with the enclosure, for which you have my thanks – especially for the promises you give in connection with your possession of my dear Friend's letters – I anticipate with considerable emotion Mr Shorter's coming work[29] and shall be glad to give every further aid in my power[30]

These events not only explain the beginnings of Wise's acquisition of Brontë papers and MSS, but they also help to define the business relationship that Shorter and Wise established. By 1892 it was apparent that Wise wished to possess the material objects relating to the Brontës,[31] but Shorter desired the information that they contained. It was the disparity between the ambitions of the two men that caused much of the confusion that occurred in the early twentieth-century editions of Emily Brontë's poems.

The Acquisition of the Brontë MSS in 1895

The Wise-Shorter partnership that began with the acquisition of the Nussey letters was further deployed three years later when Shorter wrote to Arthur Bell Nicholls who was then living at Banagher in Ireland. He wrote in March 1895 and must have asked for permission to visit because Nicholls replied on 23 March saying,

> I shall be glad to see you if you think it worth your while to come here – but I fear that any information I could give you would hardly repay you for your trouble.[32]

The wording of this letter suggests that Shorter had requested a visit so that he could interview Nicholls for information for his forthcoming book, *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle*, which was to be published in 1895. But Shorter's recollection of the visit, described in a letter to *The Times Literary Supplement* nearly thirty years later, puts a different perspective on his intention, and connects the visit from its inception, to his partnership with Wise. Shorter describes the visit to Ireland as taking place in 1894 and in response to Nicholls' expressed desire to see him:[33]

---

[29] Clement Shorter, *Charlotte Brontë and Her Circle* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1895) drew heavily on Ellen Nussey's letters.
[30] Ellen Nussey to T.J. Wise, 18 November 1892, 'Ellen Nussey Brontëana', U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C14.
[31] What was not yet evident was that Wise had no intention of making a bequest of the MSS, and that he would begin to sell them piecemeal immediately.
[32] Arthur Bell Nicholls to Clement Shorter, 23 March 1895, Letters of A.B. Nicholls to Clement Shorter, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C10.
[33] Nicholls' letters prove the inaccuracy of Shorter's memory of the date.

> He not only expressed a desire to meet me, but told me that he had many interesting things he would like me to see. […] A friend who heard that I was going gave me a blank cheque in case there should be anything to purchase of Brontë interest, for I had very little money of my own at the time. [34]

By 26 April 1895 Shorter had visited Nicholls and had received an undisclosed number of MSS, of which Nicholls wrote:

> I am quite satisfied with proposals which you make for the right to use any unpublished material that may be in the manuscripts which I placed at your disposal. And also for their transfer to your friend[35] - I should have liked to look over them before finally parting with them – but it does not matter much.[36]

These letters not only verify the business relationship between Shorter and Wise, but they also suggest that Shorter took away the MSS for examination by both himself and Wise before telling Nicholls of the intention to buy them. Nicholls' words indicate that he did not realise that the MSS would not be returned to him when he allowed Shorter to take them away.

The initial transaction was followed by others which are documented by Nicholls' side of the correspondence. The letters thank Shorter for cheques at intervals although amounts of money are never mentioned.[37] By 22 May 1895 Nicholls was aware of the identity of Shorter's 'friend', saying that he was 'quite satisfied with Mr. Wise's offer.'[38]

The exact place of the EJB notebook within these transactions is difficult to trace, although Emily Brontë is mentioned at intervals throughout the correspondence. In May Nicholls told Shorter that he had 'not met with a scrap of Emily Brontë's handwriting',[39] but suggested that there may be some in a workbox which he had not yet examined. This proved to be the case and on 4 June 1895 he wrote,

---

[34] Clement Shorter, *The Times Literary Supplement (TLS)*, 3 April 1924, p.208.
[35] In the autograph letter 'T.J. Wise' has been inserted here in a different hand to that of the letter writer (Nicholls). The typewritten transcript of the same has 'T.J. Wise' incorporated here as part of the text of the letter, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C12.
[36] A.B. Nicholls to C.K. Shorter, 26 April 1895, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C10.
[37] In a letter to J.H. Wrenn, dated 10 March 1907, Wise says that he bought the Brontë MSS for £1500. But in a footnote to the same letter Fannie Ratchford quotes Shorter, writing in 1917, who said that he paid £400 for the MSS on behalf of Wise. T.J. Wise, *The Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn: a Further Inquiry into the Guilt of Certain Nineteenth Century Forgers*, ed. Fannie E. Ratchford (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1944), p.478.
[38] A.B. Nicholls to C.K. Shorter, 22 May 1895, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C10.
[39] Ibid.

> I send four scraps of Emily's and Anne's handwriting. I accidentally found them squeezed into a little tin – they are sad reading poor girls![40]

These could not have included the EJB holograph, as that was a notebook, but are likely to be the diary papers that Emily and Anne wrote and opened on Emily's birthday at four yearly intervals.[41]

On 6 June Nicholls wrote again:

> I send a number of MSS of Emily and Anne Brontë – I chanced on them the day after I wrote to you – I have not been able to examine them minutely – I think there some verses by my wife – all those tied up in the little cover are by Emily, also the leaves stitched together.[42]

Eight days later Nicholls sent some 'torn scraps of Emily and Anne's' along with 'the remainder' of Charlotte's MSS[43] for which he received an undisclosed sum from Wise. In thanking Shorter for Wise's cheque Nicholls mentioned that Shorter had assured him that the 'ultimate destination [of the MSS] was the South Kensington Museum'. He said that this made him 'anxious to secure such a safe resting place for them.' This promise, which had also been made to Ellen Nussey, was later refuted by Wise.[44]

None of these transactions makes it clear exactly when the EJB notebook changed hands. The most likely dates are either in March or April 1895 on the occasion of Shorter's first visit to Nicholls, or on 6 June 1895. By 5 February 1897 the notebook had passed from Shorter to Wise who had it bound and inserted his own bookplate, and thence to William Law of Honresfeld. [45]

---

[40] A.B. Nicholls to C.K. Shorter, 4 June 1895, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C10.

[41] Emily's diary paper of 26 June 1837 includes a sketch of herself and Anne sitting writing at a table. On the table is a box labelled 'The Tin Box' and a small heap of papers labelled 'the papers'. Emily Brontë, in Alexander and Sellars, (1995), p.378.

[42] A.B. Nicholls to C.K. Shorter, 6 June 1895, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C10.

[43] A.B. Nicholls to C.K. Shorter, 18 June 1895, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C1.

[44] A.B. Nicholls to C.K. Shorter, 24 June 1895, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C10.
On the typewritten transcript of this letter there is a reference to a pencilled note by T.J. Wise on the reverse of the letter, refuting the suggestion: 'I never made such a suggestion. Shorter wanted me to add my books to those of Forster, and frequently pressed me to do so, but such a destination did not appeal to me at all. T.J. Wise'. Most of the typewritten transcripts of Brontë material from the original Brotherton Collection in the University of Leeds were executed by John Alexander Symington's secretary. Symington was Lord Brotherton's librarian.

[45] Davidson Cook saw the holograph notebook at Honresfeld in 1926 and described it in detail: 'The Manuscript is written on 29 pages 7" x 4 ¼". The volume carries the bookplate of THOMAS JAMES WISE, and is stamped "Bound by Riviere and Son for T.J. Wise." On the first flyleaf is written, "William Law, Littleborough, nr. Manchester. February 5th 1897.' Cook, ed. (May1926).

The Question of Copyright

The proposals referred to in Nicholls' letter of 26 April have had lasting significance for Emily's poems. The Brontë MSS were to be transferred to Wise, but the 'right to use any unpublished material' remained with Shorter. This was a division that affected publications and readings of the poems until 1941.

In his letter Nicholls had given Shorter permission to use any material from the MSS that he had handed over. But Shorter needed legal clarification of these rights. On 14 November 1895 Nicholls wrote to Shorter saying that he and his wife would be glad to see both Shorter and Miss Sigerson [who was later to become Shorter's wife] on the 23rd of that month. It was during this visit that a copyright agreement was signed by Shorter and Nicholls and was witnessed by both Harriette Bell[46] and Dora Sigerson.[47]

With the signing of this agreement Shorter became the owner of the copyright of any unpublished Brontë MSS that had passed through his hands during the transactions of 1895. But the MSS themselves continued to be passed from Shorter to Wise, who was buying the physical objects. The exact dates of transfer of the MSS from Shorter to Wise, after he had received them from Nicholls, are not known; but the promptitude with which Nicholls received Wise's cheques suggests that they were passed on rapidly.

The empirical evidence for these events lies in the correspondence that was exchanged between the participants at the time, but Shorter's 1924 letter to *The Times Literary Supplement* gives details of how the arrangement worked in practice:

> This parcel [of MSS] I purchased for my friend, he agreeing that the copyright should be assigned to me, which was duly done by Mr. Nicholls as executor of his late wife. My friend retained many of these little books for his own library; others he gave away and some he sold. They are now scattered all over the world among Brontë enthusiasts. Before they were disposed of a rough typewritten copy of the often almost undecipherable handwriting was made for my benefit […].[48]

Apart from one photograph [of 'No coward soul is mine'] it seems that this transcript was Shorter's only record of the texts for which he held the copyright. The roughness of the transcript, and the rapidity with which that MSS left his possession,

[46] Harriette Bell appears in the 1901 census of the Nicholls' household. She was Arthur Bell Nicholls' Mother-in-law, and would have been ninety-three years old when she witnessed this document in 1895.
[47] Transcript of original Brontë copyright agreement between Arthur Bell Nicholls and Clement Shorter, 23 November 1895, BPM, SB:3111.1.101.
[48] Shorter, *TLS* (3 April 1924).

were the reasons for many of the inaccuracies and confusions that occurred over the following years. Figure 4.1 shows the place held by the transcript in the textual transmission of the poems during the early twentieth-century. But the diagram cannot illustrate the confusion that evidently resulted in Shorter's own mind, from the rapid removal of the MSS.

The First Uses of the Copyright

By 1895 twenty-three of the EJB poems had been printed with revisions in two separate publications, and the remaining eight had been inaccurately transcribed. Clement Shorter was now the copyright owner and had been in possession of the EJB holograph for a (probably) short time before its transfer to Wise. It could be argued that by this time Shorter would have had sufficient material to qualify him to make an educated judgement as to the future publication of the notebook. He ought to have been able to judge whether it should be presented for publication with the original text, and in the sequence in which Emily Brontë wrote it. But his future behaviour with respect to the Emily Brontë MSS for which he owned the copyright indicates that he was not able to do this. In fact, his first attempts at publication of Emily's poems suggest that he may not even have had the opportunity to examine the notebook at all.

In August 1897 Shorter published an article containing a facsimile of 'No coward soul is mine' (EJB 31) in *The Woman at Home*.[49] By this time the holograph was in the library of William Law at Honresfeld, but the publication of the facsimile would seem to be evidence that Shorter had been in possession of the notebook for long enough to examine it and to choose and copy a poem.[50] However this would be an erroneous assumption. In the text of his article Shorter claims to have found the original poem:

> […] in a small note-book in which were all the poems which Charlotte Brontë published under the title of 'Selections from Poems by Ellis Bell' – all these poems are in this precious volume, and many others.[51]

This could not have been the truth, as the selection that Charlotte published in 1850 contained poems from both the EJB and the Gondal notebooks, as well as the poem which I argue was written by Charlotte herself, and which has never been found in

[49] C.K. Shorter, 'Relics of Emily Brontë', *The Woman at Home*, August 1897, pp.906-907.
[50] The BPM holds a single photograph of 'No coward soul is mine'. It is possible that this was used for the 1897 facsimile, but Davidson Cook also reproduced a facsimile of the poem in 'Emily Brontë's Poems', Cook (August 1926), p.257, so the photograph might date from this time.
[51] Shorter (August 1897), p.907.

MS form. Shorter had not seen the Gondal MS in 1897 as it was one of the few Brontë MSS that Nicholls retained until his death, and there is no evidence of the existence of a MS that contains all the 1850 poems in one volume.

The Woman at Home article also contains a transcription of Emily's poem 'Thy sun is near meridian height'. This poem only appears in holograph form in the Gondal notebook, but it was transcribed by Nicholls in his Huntington transcript. The text of the poem does not differ between the Gondal MS and Nicholls' version, but the punctuation given by Shorter in his article is that given by Nicholls, who must have revised the punctuation as he transcribed the poem. It is not the punctuation used by Emily in the Gondal notebook. This indicates that the origin of the poem used by Shorter was the Nicholls transcript rather than an Emily Brontë holograph. Significantly, 'Thy sun is near meridian height' is the first poem in the Huntington transcript, so if Shorter used that source he would not have had to examine the notebook very carefully to find a poem to use in his article.

Shorter's account was untruthful, but it was a result of the arrangement that he had made with Wise. If, by the time he came to write the article for *The Woman at Home* his only reference for the Brontë MSS was a 'rough typewritten copy' (and presumably a photograph of 'No coward soul is mine'), he may be excused for no longer remembering the individual holograph sources. It is less excusable to cover his ignorance by fabricating his sources. At that time, and for some years, there was no reason for his readers to suppose that Shorter was not telling the truth, and so his lack of knowledge of the Brontë MSS, and indeed his untruthfulness, were not suspected.

The Dispersal of the MSS and the 1902 Edition

Figure 1 describes the archival history of Emily Brontë's poetry MSS from their place in Haworth at the time of her death in 1848, to their present-day archives. The diagram shows that four 'batches' of MSS passed from Nicholls to Shorter and thence to Wise in 1895, and that two were retained by Nicholls until his death. Of the MSS obtained by Wise, only one, a notebook of poems in cursive script now known as the 'Ashley' notebook, remained in Wise's possession throughout his lifetime. The group of forty-six single leaf MSS were split into four separate sets and had moved to America by the early twentieth-century. The EJB notebook was in the Honresfeld library of William Law by 1897, but the fact that it bears Wise's

bookplate, and its binding stamp says 'Bound by Riviere and Son for T.J. Wise'[52] suggests that Wise originally intended to retain it for his own library.

Of the Emily Brontë MSS that Wise bought from Nicholls, the first one to appear in print (apart from the two poems in Shorter's *Woman at Home* article) was the Nicholls Huntington transcript. As shown in Figure 3.1 the Huntington transcript contained the eight EJB poems that had not been previously published in either 1846 or 1850.[53]

In 1902 a New York publisher and book-dealer, Dodd Mead and Co., printed a private edition of Brontë poems that was limited to 110 copies. The book, called *Poems by Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë: Now for the First Time Printed*, contains sixty-six poems by Emily, ten by Charlotte, and twelve by Anne. Emily's poems include the eight EJB poems that had not been published in 1846 or 1850, and twenty-six previously unpublished Gondal poems. An examination of the text of the poems included in the 1902 edition shows that the publisher's source for these poems was Nicholls' Huntington transcript. The remaining Emily Brontë poems in the volume were from the single leaf MSS which are now in the Bonnell Collections.[54] So it is apparent that by 1902 at least two sets of Brontë MSS had left Wise and travelled to America.

The 'Prefatory Note' to the 1902 edition indicates that the publishers apparently believed that all the MSS used in compiling the book were holograph material:

> The poems have been deciphered with some difficulty from the original manuscripts. Anne's verses and some of Emily's are written in an ordinary, quite legible handwriting, and are signed and dated.[55]

The publishers were in possession of handwritten material, but the poems that were included by Emily came originally from the EJB, the Gondal, and the Bonnell MSS, none of which was written in ordinary handwriting. Her only long-hand holograph

---

[52] Riviere and Son was a bookbinding business established in Bath but trading in London by 1840. The company, now called 'George Bayntun' is again based in Bath and still hand-binds books using the Victorian 'Bayntun-Riviere' bindery. They maintain albums and records of many early Riviere bindings and customers, but they have no evidence of binding of Brontë material for T.J. Wise. And although they still hold the historic stamps for many individual customers, they have been unable to locate one for Wise. The present owner suggests that Wise may have retained it, but it is also possible that Riviere and Son destroyed it themselves, along with the album records, when evidence of Wise's forgeries came to light.

[53] It also contained twenty-six previously unpublished Gondal poems (see Table 3.1).

[54] The Bonnell Collections are now divided between the Pierpont Morgan Museum in New York and the Brontë Parsonage Museum (see Figure 1).

[55] Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë, *Poems by Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë: Now for the First Time Printed* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1902) p.vi.

was the 'Ashley' notebook and there are no poems in this edition that are found solely in that holograph.[56] It is now recognised that the copy-text for the EJB and Gondal poems in this edition was the Nicholls transcript which is now in the Huntington Library[57] and that is presumably the ordinary legible handwriting referred to in the 'Prefatory Note'.

Derek Roper suggests that Dodd, Mead may have bought the transcript book from Wise and that the editor was Luther S. Livingston who worked for the firm at that time.[58] This is possible, but it leaves an unanswered question. Why did Dodd, Mead believe, or claim to believe, that they possessed a longhand Emily Brontë holograph?

On 13 July 1901 Wise wrote to his correspondent J.H. Wrenn, 'Last evening Mr. Robert Dodd (of D.M.Co.) dined with us. What an extremely nice fellow he is: I enjoyed a bookish chat with him no end.'[59] This visit took place in the year preceding the publication of Dodd, Mead's edition of Brontë poetry, and as Wise was Dodd's host it seems likely that the 'bookish chat' would involve a visit to Wise's library, or at least an introduction to some of his books. There is no mention in the letter of the sale of any books or MSS, but significantly, in 1947, Mildred Christian described the Huntington transcript as 'Bound in full brown levant, gilt top and gilt inside borders, by Riviere and Son'.[60] An examination of the transcript has revealed a stamp, 'Bound by Riviere and Son' on the bottom left-hand corner of the verso of the front fly-leaf of the book. It is a tiny stamp, hardly visible at first glance.[61] The difference here is that where the stamp in the EJB notebook is personalised to Wise, the transcript contains a generic Riviere stamp. This means that it is not certain that it was Wise who had the transcript bound, but his letters to Wrenn reveal that Riviere was his first choice of binder for the MSS that passed through his hands. It is possible that he had it bound but did not include his own name as he intended to sell it. Or it could be that he used a generic stamp because he did not want his name to be connected to the MS in the long term, as he intended to falsify its provenance.

---

[56] Poems from the 'Ashley' MS were transcribed into later MSS, so some of the poems appear in the 'Ashley' and a second MS. There are at least four 'Ashley' poems in the 1902 edition, but of these two also appear in the Bonnell MSS, one in the Gondal MS, and one in the EJB.
[57] Hatfield, ed. (1941), p.10.
[58] Roper, ed. (1995), p.289.
[59] T.J. Wise to J.H. Wrenn, 13 July 1901, Ratchford, ed. (1944).
[60] Mildred G. Christian, *A Census of Brontë MSS in the United States*, Reprinted from *The Trollopian*, Number 3, December 1947. Rebound for Private Circulation, 1947-1948.
[61] In November 2014, the Huntington Library, California, made me a digital copy of a microfiche of the Nicholls transcript which was taken some years ago. The original is now too fragile to copy but at my request the librarian made an examination of the book and found the stamp after some searching.

It is speculation to consider that the 'bookish chat' included reference to Brontë holographs, but between the time that the MS left Nicholls and arrived with Dodd, Mead, someone had either stated overtly, or allowed Dodd, Mead to believe, that the Nicholls transcript was an Emily Brontë holograph. The MS had only been with Nicholls and Shorter before it arrived with Wise. The uncertainty is whether there was another link in the chain between Wise and Dodd, or whether the MS remained in Wise's library until it passed to Dodd as a result of the chat at the dinner party.

The likelihood that it was Wise who passed the transcript on to Dodd is supported by the fact that eight of the Anne Brontë poems that appear in the 1902 edition, and which are now in the Pierpont Morgan Bonnell Collection,[62] are bound in 'full red levant', which suggests a Riviere binding. The remaining four poems by Anne are now in the Huntington Library in California and they are described as having crimson morocco binding.[63] Of the ten poems by Charlotte, all but two are now in the BPM Bonnell Collection. The eight poems in the BPM are bound in leather, and the BPM Bonnell poems by Emily that are included in the edition are bound in levant morocco with gilt edges, again suggesting a Riviere binding. Wise himself said of his Brontë MSS:

> I had them all arranged and bound and they are detailed in Shorter's book 'The Brontës: Life and Letters'. When that book had been published and the MSS finished with, I selected a series for my own library. From the remainder I let all my friends have a representative series, and some of the rest I sold, I don't think they brought enough.[64]

On the evidence of the bindings it seems likely that all the poetry MSS used in the compilation of the Dodd, Mead 1902 edition originated from Wise's library, and they probably all changed hands at the same time.

It is possible that when Wise passed the Nicholls transcript on to Robert Dodd he was unaware of the fact that it was not an Emily Brontë holograph. But I think this is unlikely. As Figure 1 shows, Emily's cursive holograph notebook (the 'Ashley') remained with Wise from its acquisition from Nicholls until Wise's death in 1937. Even a cursory comparison of the handwriting of the 'Ashley' notebook with that of the transcript indicates that they have been executed by different hands. Both writers use cursive script that slopes to the right, but Emily's is sharp and spiky,

[62] Pierpont Morgan, MA 2696.5.
[63] Huntington Library, HM 2576.
[64] T.J. Wise to J.H Wrenn, 14 March 1899, Ratchford, ed. (1944), pp.160-164 (p.163).

where Nicholls' is rounded. Many of the capital letters are differently formed, in particular, the <T>, <F> and <W>. It must have been apparent to Wise that the two notebooks had been written by different people, and it is significant that he chose to keep the 'Ashley' notebook, the true Emily Brontë holograph, for his own library. The 'Ashley' notebook, which is now in the British Library, bears a gold stamp on the inner edge of the binding saying: 'Bound by Riviere and Son for T.J. Wise', as does the EJB notebook. Both are genuine Emily Brontë holographs.[65] The question that must remain unanswered is whether Wise told Dodd the truth about the provenance of the Nicholls transcript, and they were therefore complicit in the deception; or whether he refrained from showing the 'Ashley' notebook to his visitor, and Dodd was innocent in his claim that all his sources for 1902 were holographic. Whichever of these two possibilities is the truth, the fact remains that the publication of Nicholls' inaccurate transcription of Emily's poems as her own work added a further dimension to the shared authorship of the poems of the EJB notebook, and continued the distancing from their original context which had begun in the previous century. Figure 4.1 shows that it was this edition that provided the copy-text for the EJB poems for the next two editions of Brontë poetry.

The Implications for Scholarship

Chapter Three described the potential for a co-operative system of voting between Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë in their selection of poems for the 1846 edition. I consider that Wise's practice of 'tidying' and binding his Brontë MSS has destroyed much of the evidence for this and has resulted in some MSS that carry less information about the early history of the poems than would otherwise have been the case. In my view, it was the 'editing' of the MSS and in some cases the binding process itself, that resulted in some of the misconceptions described in Chapter Three, about the selection of poems for 1846. Holographs carry not only the record of the original texts of the poems that they contain, but left untouched they can also provide evidence of the early uses and development of those texts.

An investigation of the validity of my proposal must incorporate the evidence that I have already uncovered for the marginal markers in the Gondal notebook, with that described in this chapter for Wise's practice of binding his MSS. Unless there is evidence to the contrary, I will take the binding of a MS in levant morocco, and

[65] The personal Riviere stamps on the bindings of both these notebooks suggest that Wise intended to keep both for his library. In this case I think it likely that William Law paid Wise very handsomely for the EJB notebook. Davidson Cook (1926) notes that Law had inscribed the EJB as '[…] the most valuable of all the Brontë M.S.S. I possess […]', Cook, ed. (May 1926).

preferably incorporating a Riviere stamp, as a likely indication that a MS has passed through Wise's hands.

I have already compared the record of marginalia in the Gondal notebook with the absence of any (apart for the small central <o>) in the EJB notebook. Wise attempted to buy the Gondal notebook in the Nicholls sale of 1907, but he was outbid by Reginald Smith of Smith Elder[66] and the notebook has remained unbound and apparently unedited.[67]

The differences between the bound EJB notebook and the unbound Gondal one involve more than the EJB's absence of marginalia. As already stated, the EJB notebook is not currently available for examination, but Davidson Cook, who described it in 1926, said that it was 'cut in binding […] the first line on page 26[68] and the pagination numbers are slightly affected'.[69] A close examination of other Brontë MSS bound by Riviere reveal that the pages of the holographs were trimmed and then pasted onto sheets that had been sewn together to form the inner edges and spine of the bound notebook.[70]

Wise's influence on the marginal markers related to the 1846 edition are best illustrated by a scrutiny of some of the Charlotte Brontë holographs of her 1846 poems. The edition includes nineteen poems by Charlotte, the holographs of nine of which are now in the BPM. Of these, three are in a notebook of poems which has been bound in red leather and has the stamp 'Bound by Riviere and Son' on the inner binding.[71] A further four are amongst several poems in an unbound and untrimmed notebook[72] and the remaining two poems are on separate sheets.[73] The differences between the bound and unbound notebooks are significant. The pages of the bound edition, which have been trimmed and pasted onto new sheets in binding, do not contain any marginalia. But the marginalia in the unbound notebook serves to support my view of the process of choosing the poems for 1846, described

---

[66] T.J. Wise to J.H. Wrenn, 28 July 1907, Ratchford, ed. (1944), p.478.
[67] Apart from the addition of titles to some poems, which I propose in the preceding chapter were executed by Charlotte in her preparation of the 1850 edition.
[68] The EJB photos in the BPM show that the first line of page 26 is: 'I ne'er had called oblivion blest' from 'Enough of Thought, philosopher' (EJB 27).
[69] Cook, ed. (May 1926).
[70] Barbara Lloyd-Evans notes that the clarity of the 'Ashley' MS is affected by the binding: 'Frequently word(s), letter(s) and/or punctuation at the end of a line are cut off by either the mount, or the tightness of the binding.' She goes further, and hints that the missing pages in the notebook may have been removed by Wise, Emily Brontë, The Poems of Emily Brontë, ed. Barbara Lloyd-Evans (London: Batsford, 1992), p.154. I disagree, I think there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Emily herself removed the pages when the poems that they contained had been transcribed into another notebook.
[71] BPM, Bonnell 113.
[72] BPM, Bonnell 94.
[73] BPM, Bonnell 110 and 96.

in the previous chapter. This notebook contains four poems which have been marked by the asterisk <*> that I have suggested was Charlotte's mark for the choice of poems for 1846. All four of these poems appear in the 1846 edition,[74] but none of the poems of the notebook which were not chosen for 1846 has the asterisk. This unbound notebook also has the initials 'ABN' in the margin next to two of the poems,[75] both of which poems were transcribed by Arthur Bell Nicholls into a notebook which is now in the University of Leeds, Special Collections.[76]

The volume bound by Riviere was bought by Henry Houston Bonnell at a Sotheby's sale on 4 November 1918. This was not one of the Nicholls' sales, which took place in 1907, 1914, and 1916,[77] so the indication is that the volume had been in the public domain during the time that the Gondal notebook was still with Nicholls. This again suggests that it was one of the MSS bought by Wise in 1895.

My own verdict, arrived at from an examination of this evidence, is that the binding process that was carried out for Wise, on the MSS in his possession, has resulted in the destruction of some of the evidence that could have informed scholars about the early editorial processes and some of the history of the poems. It seems that the binding of the poems is linked to missing marginalia, and I suggest that either Wise erased pencil marks from MSS before sending them for binding, or that this was done by the binders themselves. In my view, it is more likely that the erasures were carried out by Wise, or that he instructed the binders to do it on his behalf. In contrast to this, the Gondal notebook did not pass through Wise's hands. It was neither bound, nor was it subject to his editing activities. It therefore gives more information about the history of the poems than do the EJB photographs, which were taken of a MS that had evidently undergone some modification. It is possible that the holograph, the EJB notebook itself, would be equally difficult to extract information from because of the editing that it has been subject to, but if it were possible, the use of multi-spectral imaging might still reveal some of the original marks.

Early Twentieth-Century Editions: A Search for the Truth

I have described the effects on publication of Shorter's confusion at having the MSS so rapidly removed from his keeping, a situation that I believe resulted from the

[74] The asterisked poems are: 'Long ago I wished to leave' (Regret), 'What is she writing? Watch her now,' (The Letter), 'The room is quiet, thoughts alone (The Teacher's Monologue), 'If thou be in a lonely place' (Stanzas).
[75] 'This ring of gold' (The Ring), 'She was alone that evening'.
[76] U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/A.
[77] Alexander and Smith, ed. (2006), p.442.

business relationship between Shorter and Wise. This confusion about MSS continued into the twentieth-century and the importance to this discussion is not the present whereabouts of the different Emily Brontë MSS – that is now quite clear. What must be clarified is how much Shorter himself knew, or did not know, about the MSS and their provenance and content, and how he attempted to conceal his ignorance in a way that affected public knowledge of the poems and their texts. It was this concealment that has led to misconceptions about authorship and about the text of the poems. The problem was exacerbated by the fact that Wise, who probably had more information than anyone else about the whereabouts and provenance of the MSS that he had dealt with, was largely uncommunicative on the subject. It could be construed that he was tacitly attempting to conceal his own actions and deceptions.

An examination of the early twentieth-century publications shows that the effects of the Shorter – Wise partnership was to some extent complicated by the interactions of the literary circle within which the two men moved. It is apparent that other players also shared archival and textual information, and sometimes misinformation, with the reading public. It is my view that the resulting complexities hinged partly on personal relationships and were to some extent influenced by the strength of Wise's personality and the influence that he had in the literary world at the time.

A search for clarity in the events of 1910 to 1923 must encompass the editions that were published during that time, the people who were involved in those publications, and the reactions of the critics to the work that was produced. The situation was complex, and to look back on that time and to attempt to untangle the truth from the fictions and confusions is difficult. But it is a crucial exercise because at least some of the obfuscation of the truth continues to affect readings of the poems today.

Wise told J.H. Wrenn that he had his Brontë MSS bound before they were detailed in Shorter's book *The Brontës: Life and Letters*, and that when that book had been published he allowed dispersal of some of them. This is not true. *The Brontës: Life and Letters* was published in 1908, and by that time the EJB notebook had been with William Law for eleven years, and the loose-leaf MSS that were printed in Dodd, Mead's 1902 edition had been in America for six years. Dispersal of the MSS had begun many years before the publication of the book.

In *Life and Letters* Shorter includes an Appendix that lists '[…] the whole of the early Brontë Manuscripts known to me, or of which I can find any record'.[78] The list is not actually restricted to early MSS, but also contains poetry and devoirs. He includes the following under the heading 'Emily Brontë':

> A volume of *Poems*, 8vo, pp. 29: signed (at the top of the first page) *E.J.B.* Transcribed February 1844. Each poem is headed with the date of its composition. Of the poems included in this book four are still unprinted, the remainder were published in the *Poems* of 1846, the whole are written in microscopic characters, … 1844
> A volume of *Poems*, square 8vo, pp.24. Each poem is dated, and the first is signed *E.J. Brontë*, August 19th, 1837. Written in an ordinary, and not a minute, handwriting. All unpublished, … 1837-1839
> A series of poems written in a minute hand upon both sides of fourteen or fifteen small slips of paper of various sizes. All unpublished, … 1833-1839
> 'The Poems of Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë' in these lists were sold to America, and privately printed by Dodd, Mead and Company of New York in 1902 under that title – 110 copies only. Those of Emily were reprinted in *Collected Poems*, 1908 (Hodder and Stoughton).[79]

The MSS described here are the EJB notebook, the 'Ashley' notebook, and some of the loose-leaf fragments (see Figure 1).

This extract is quite informative, although not in the facts that it contains. It is evidence for Shorter's lack of knowledge of the MSS for which he held copyright. He is mistaken in his claim that all but four of the EJB poems were included in 1846. Had this been true it would have meant that the notebook only included twenty-five poems rather than the thirty-one that it has. Only fifteen of the EJB poems were printed in 1846. According to this list he was only aware of fourteen or fifteen loose leaves, when there were actually forty-six, and he seems to be unaware at this point, of Wise's practice of binding loose sheets of MS.

Shorter says here that Emily's poems from the 1902 edition were reprinted in *Complete Poems,* 1908. This is the same year that *Life and Letters* was published and suggests that the two volumes were being prepared contemporaneously. In fact, *Complete Poems* was finally published in 1910.[80] The indication is that in preparing this list Shorter relied on Wise's descriptions rather than on a visual inspection of the MSS. He seems to believe that all the MSS containing published

[78] Clement Shorter, *The Brontës: Life and Letters, being an attempt to present a full and final record of the lives of the three sisters, Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Brontë, from the biographies of Mrs Gaskell and others, and from numerous hitherto unpublished manuscripts and letters,* Vol. II (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), p.430.
[79] Shorter (1908), p.432.
[80] Emily Brontë, *The Complete Poems of Emily Brontë*, ed. Clement Shorter, with an Introductory Essay by W. Robertson Nicoll (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910).

poems were, by then, in America, and so they cannot have been available for his scrutiny. It is possible that he was allowed access to the 'Ashley' notebook, which was still with Wise.

Shorter's ignorance of the poetry MSS would have been of less concern had he not possessed the copyright for the publication of the poems, and had he not repeatedly tried to give information about the MSS themselves.

The 1910 Edition

In 1910 and 1911 Shorter produced a two-volume *Complete Works of Emily Brontë*, the first volume of which was *The Complete Poems*. The edition was edited by Shorter, who supplied 'A Bibliographical Note' at the beginning, and it carried an 'Introductory Essay on Emily Brontë' by W. Robertson Nicoll.[81]

In his 1924 letter to *The Times Literary Supplement* Shorter said that the idea for his visit to Arthur Bell Nicholls in 1895 had originally come from Robertson Nicoll,[82] and he had certainly corresponded with Nicoll about the results of his visit in 1895.[83] In 1895 Nicoll was also co-editor with Wise, of *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*,[84] so his connections with both men were already well established when he wrote the 'Introduction' to Shorter's 1910 edition.

The book is organised into four sections, the first being the poems that were published in 1846, followed by a section headed 'Posthumous Poems: edited by Charlotte Brontë.'[85] These are the poems that were revised by Charlotte in 1850, and appended to *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*. This section of Shorter's book is preceded by Currer Bell's preface to the poems that she included in the 1850 edition, and it also includes the explanatory notes that she gave to certain of the poems. The third section is entitled 'Privately Printed Poems' and includes all the poems from the Huntington transcript that were published by Dodd, Mead in 1902. The final section of the book is headed 'Unpublished Poems' and contains a further seventy-one poems, of which twenty-three are now known not to be the work of Emily Brontë.[86]

---

[81] W. Robertson Nicoll was a journalist and editor who had assisted Shorter in the preparation of *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle*, Shorter, ed. (1896)
[82] Shorter, *TLS* (3 April 1924).
[83] Clement Shorter to Robertson Nicoll, 2 November 1895, University of Delaware Special Collections
[84] W. Robertson Nicoll and Thomas J. Wise, *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century: Towards a Literary History of the Period,* Vol.II (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1895).
[85] Shorter, ed. (1910), p.50.
[86] C.W. Hatfield, a Brontë scholar and editor of Emily's poems made a detailed study of the authorship of these poems.

Shorter's use of the text of the printed editions in the first three sections of his book served to establish those versions more firmly in the eyes of the readers of the time, and it is necessary to ask why he chose those printed versions over the text of the typescript that had been provided for him by Wise in exchange for the holographs. It must have been apparent to him that the typescript, which had been taken from the holographs, differed from the printed versions. Particularly in the case of the poems included by Charlotte in her 1850 edition, where the differences were sometimes substantial. Years later, in his letter to *The Times Literary Supplement*, Shorter described the typescript as 'rough',[87] and lacking the opportunity to examine the MSS closely he can probably be forgiven for believing that the published versions of the poems would be accurate. Perhaps he thought that the differences were a result of the roughness of the typescript and it might even have been these deviations that led him to describe the typescript as 'rough'.

In making this judgement I am assuming that Shorter was unaware that Dodd, Mead had used a transcript made by Arthur Bell Nicholls for their copy-text in the belief that it was an Emily Brontë holograph. He must however, have referred to his 'rough' typescript for the text of the new poems that he included in the final section, as these had not yet appeared in print, and the MSS had been removed from his keeping on his return from Ireland.

The references to the source material for the poems included in the 1910 volume differ slightly in the accounts given by Shorter in his 'Bibliographical Note' and by Nicoll in the 'Introductory Essay'. Shorter says:

> The additional poems which form, as may be seen, the larger part of this volume were contained in note-books that Charlotte Brontë had handled tenderly when she made her Selection after Emily and Anne had died. These little note-books were lent to me by Mr. Nicholls, her husband, some forty years afterwards, with permission to publish whatever I liked from them. No one to-day will deny to them a certain bibliographic interest.[88]

This is a further example of Shorter's deviance from the truth. Of the poems in this section that were actually written by Emily Brontë, thirty-eight come from the single leaf MSS now in the Texas, Bonnell, Howe, and Taylor collections (see Figure 1). Only nine poems were taken from a notebook, the holograph which is now in the British Library and which in 1910 was in Wise's possession. Shorter had only recently published a description of Emily's poetry MSS, and these 'little note-books'

[87] Shorter, *TLS*, (3 April 1924).
[88] Shorter, ed. (1910), p.vi.

filled with previously unpublished poems do not match the descriptions that he had provided.

Shorter's account differs from the one given by Robertson Nicoll on the following pages. Nicoll agrees with Shorter's inaccurate statement printed in the *Woman at Home* that all the poems selected by Charlotte in 1850 had been taken from the same notebook. But he goes on to say that 'Four were left unprinted by Charlotte Brontë and are now published.'[89] His next statement indicates that he had more accurate information than Shorter about the Brontë MSS that passed to Wise in 1895:

> In addition there was another volume of manuscripts and some poems written on small slips of paper of various sizes. All of these were unpublished till 1902, when sixty-seven were privately printed by Dodd, Mead and Co.[90]

Nicoll is correct in his account of the MSS that made up the 1902 edition, particularly in the 'volume of manuscripts', which must have been the Nicholls transcript.

Between the publication of *Life and Letters* in 1908, and the composition of his 'Bibliographic Note' in 1910, Shorter had become aware of the existence of some more notebooks, which he attempted creatively to fit into his Brontë story. They became the notebooks that Charlotte 'handled tenderly'.[91] But in reality, they were volumes of separate leaves bound mainly by Riviere, and containing poems by several different members of the Brontë family.

By that time the MSS that made up the 1902 edition had moved to America, and Wise had had the remaining fragments of Brontë MSS bound to form the notebooks that Shorter seems to assume were their original form. If he had had an opportunity to examine the notebooks at that time it would have been apparent that they were constructed from separate leaves. A scrutiny of one of these notebooks, which is now in the BPM Bonnell Collection,[92] shows that it is leather-bound by Riviere and has gilt edges to the pages. The fragments on which the poems are written are double-sided and are inserted between double sheets of paper which have been pasted together to form a frame so that both sides of the leaf can be read. In some places the text (titles and dates) are partly obscured by the 'frame'. It is immediately apparent that this volume at least, has been created by a binder and it could not be mistaken for a notebook into which a poem has been written. This

[89] W. Robertson Nicoll, 'Introductory Essay on Emily Brontë', Shorter, ed. (1910), p.xv.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Shorter, ed. (1910), p.vi.
[92] BPM, Bonnell 127.

suggests that rather than seeing the notebooks at first-hand, Shorter had them described briefly to him, and that the copy-text used for these new poems was the rough typescript provided by Wise. If Shorter had had the opportunity to examine the 'notebooks' carefully it ought to have been apparent to him that they contained work in four different hands. Shorter's words 'No one to-day will deny to them a certain bibliographic interest'[93] carry an irony of which he must have been unaware.

Although apparently unconscious of Shorter's lack of access to the MSS for which he had copyright, contemporary reviewers were quick to cast doubt on the veracity of his text. *The English Review* referred to his claim for 'bibliographic interest':

> Readers must be warned that the text of the volume is everywhere uncertain. The editor's impression seems to have been that the interest of the poems was 'bibliographical' and that accuracy in printing them was therefore of no consequence.[94]

This was reiterated by Robert Seymour Bridges[95] in *The Times Literary Supplement*:

> But we are compelled to shorten our poetical extracts in order to describe the peculiar 'bibliographical interest' of this volume. The possessor of it may be congratulated on having a book which it will be hard to rival for misprints and wrong readings; they are incredible.[96]

The Athenæum noted 'some very doubtful readings – such as "deceiving" for "declining"(?), p.110; "flowless" for "flowerless" (?), p.134; "idol" for "idle", p.184'.[97] These apparent misreadings all occur in poems that were printed by Dodd, Mead in 1902. The first is in a poem that begins 'O Mother I am not regretting' the holograph of which is on one of the separate leaves now in the Pierpont Morgan Bonnell collection. The mistake originates with Dodd, Mead. The second, 'flowless' for 'flowerless' occurs in 'How still, how happy!' (EJB 3), which was a poem transcribed by Nicholls and reprinted by Dodd, Mead. Emily Brontë's original text reads: ''Tis wintery light o'er flowerless moors-'[98]. Nicholls' transcription differs, but not in the word highlighted by the reviewer. He writes: ''Tis wintry light o'er flowerless moors'.

---

[93] Shorter, ed. (1910), p.vi.
[94] Anonymous review, *The English Review,* February 1911, p.584.
[95] Dr. Robert Seymour Bridges was a poet who had previously practised as a medical doctor. He became Poet Laureate in 1913.
[96] Dr. Robert Seymour Bridges, *TLS*, 12 January 1911, p.9.
[97] Anonymous review, *The Athenæum*, 11 February 1911, p.152.
[98] E. Brontë, 'How still, how happy! those are words', 7 December 1838.

Dodd, Mead retain Nicholls' 'wintry' for Emily's 'wintery', but they substitute 'flowless' for 'flowerless', and this is the version that Shorter prints.

The final 'doubtful reading' chosen by *The Athenæum* reviewer is informative because a scrutiny of the stanza in which it occurs illustrates the textual development of the poems. 'Thy Guardians are asleep' is a Gondal poem and was transcribed by Nicholls. But by examining the digital image of the holograph it is possible to tell that the version given by Shorter in 1910 has undergone several mutations from its original form. The stanza that Emily had originally written was:

> O waken, Dearest, wake!
> What means this long delay?
> Say, wilt thou not for honour's sake
> Chase idle fears away?[99]

At the beginning of the poem are three different marginal marks: Charlotte's <+> sign for 1850, and Nicholls' <O> and <ABN> for his transcript. It seems that Charlotte originally intended to include this poem in her 1850 edition, because she not only added her mark, but she also gave it a title, 'A Serenade', and she made two revisions to the text. One of these revisions affects the above stanza, where Charlotte has crossed out 'honour's' and has substituted 'true love's', giving the line: 'Say, wilt thou not for true love's sake'.

Charlotte did not include the poem in her final selection for 1850, so Nicholls then selected it for his transcription. In his version he attempts to incorporate Charlotte's revisions rather than using Emily's text, but he makes his own mistake in transcription, which he attempts to rectify. He writes: 'Say, wilt thou not for $^{\text{true}}$~~thy~~ love's sake | Chase idle fears away?'[100] This error caused confusion when his transcription was used for the Dodd, Mead edition. They incorporated both his mistake and his correction:

> Say, wilt thou not for {thy
> {true love's sake
> Chase idol fears away?[101]

Whether this was an attempt to reproduce faithfully the content of what they apparently believed was a holograph, or whether they were uncertain as to which version was correct, is unclear. But Charlotte's revisions (and her title) had been

[99] E. Brontë, 'Thy Guardians are asleep', 4 May 1843.
[100] Nicholls, trans., HM 2581, p.74.
[101] Dodd, Mead, ed. (1902), p.142

incorporated into the text in preference for Emily's version, and Dodd, Mead had not only included Nicholls' mistake into their text, but they also added their own error in printing 'idol' for 'idle'. This was the text that Shorter inherited, and which, having chosen to omit 'thy', he printed apparently without consideration for semantic inconsistency.

Shorter addressed the criticism to this edition in some detail in the introduction to the second volume of the *Complete Works* which was published the following year.[102] He said:

> […] the new poems from manuscripts have been carefully collated by me, and these are unquestionably Emily's work as she left it in the rough manuscript. Doubtless she would have amended it had she lived to publish all her verses[103]

Although it is very doubtful that she would have amended the MSS of poems written by Charlotte, Branwell and Anne no matter how long she lived. Of the previously published poems, and in particular of *The Athenæum* criticism, he said that he had not been able to see the 'original manuscript book from which these sixty-seven [Dodd, Mead] poems were taken'[104]. He was not only betraying his ignorance of the MSS but was also making it apparent that he had not even read the Dodd, Mead introduction, which states that the Emily Brontë poems in the edition came from at least two different sources. Robertson Nicoll, who perhaps worked more closely with Wise, had been better informed of the origins of the Dodd, Mead text.

Shorter concludes his response by saying:

> In looking back, therefore, I have no regrets over the defective text. I have provided a limited edition of Emily Brontë's poems for the expert and the enthusiast, not for the general public. It is open to the expert and the enthusiast to make their own corrections of the text as they think the author meant it to have been, and whether the lines that they reconstruct are anywhere nearer those that Emily Brontë actually wrote will probably never be known.[105]

This is an odd defence, particularly in its differentiation between the enthusiast and the general public, two groups who have the potential to be very closely linked. But it does suggest that perhaps Shorter's claim for 'bibliographical interest' was true for

---

[102] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*, ed. with an introduction by Clement K. Shorter, and many facsimiles of Emily Brontë's handwriting (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911).
[103] Shorter, ed. (1911), p.viii.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Shorter, ed. (1911), pp.viii-ix.

him, and that perhaps he had less interest in the poems as poems, or even in their texts. Shorter was a journalist and a biographer, and it seems that his interest really lay in the human story that was encapsulated in the MSS themselves.

Benson's Edition of 1915

Shorter's confusion at not having first-hand knowledge of the Brontë MSS is evident, and his attempt at publication had met with criticism. The poems were praised by many reviewers, but his editing of the edition was condemned. He had responded to his critics in the second volume of his *Complete Works*, but perhaps he too recognised at least some of the truth of the criticism. It is to Shorter's credit that later in 1911, as well as giving his own response in his second volume, he was corresponding with Smith Elder about the production of a new collection of Brontë poems. But this time with a different editor and incorporating the MS that was in the possession of the Smith family.[106] It is not clear whether the idea was Shorter's or Smith Elder's, but in July 1911 Reginald Smith wrote to him:

> I have delayed answering your letter until I could see my way clearly to the volume of poetry of the Brontë Sisters. It is now practically arranged that Mr. Arthur Benson will edit the selection; you will remember his great Aunt's relations with Charlotte Brontë.
>
> You suggest, in a very considerate way, some small financial recognition of your interest in the copyright, and we shall be happy to send you a cheque for 10 guineas if this be appropriate to the case.[107]

In 1911 A.C. Benson was an established writer, essayist and academic. As Smith said, he also had tentative family connections to Charlotte Brontë who had been governess to his great aunt, Sarah Hannah Sidgwick.[108]

The book that Benson produced was a collected edition of the poems of Charlotte, Emily, Anne and Branwell, and was published in 1915.[109] The textual transmission of the EJB poems in the edition is illustrated by Figure 4.1, which shows that Benson used as his copy-text the 1846, 1850, and 1910 editions for the poems from that notebook which were published in those volumes. It is less certain, from a reading of his 'Textual Note', whether he used the Gondal holograph, or the

[106] The Gondal notebook had been bought by Reginald Smith at the sale in 1907 at which Wise had been outbid.
[107] Reginald J. Smith to Clement Shorter, 24 July 1911, Letters of George Smith to Clement Shorter, U of L, SC, BC MS 19c Brontë/C15.
[108] Alexander and Smith, ed. (2006), p.471.
[109] Benson, ed. (1915).

Nicholls / 1902 / Shorter version for the Gondal poems that had been in those editions.

In preparing his volume Benson was allowed access to the Gondal notebook which was owned by the Smith family at that time.[110] This was the first time that the notebook had been seen by an editor. Helen Brown and Joan Mott, who published the first study of the Gondal MS after it had been donated to the British Museum said, 'A.C. Benson was shown the MS., and extracted some unpublished verses from it for his collection,'[111]

Benson included two facsimile reproductions from the Gondal notebook in his edition, one of which, 'Why ask to know what date what clime'[112] was published there for the first time. He must therefore have examined the Gondal notebook while preparing his edition, and in his 'Textual Note' he says: 'The text has, as far as possible, been restored from the original MSS., and I believe it to be now substantially correct.'[113] Yet an examination of some of the Gondal poems that had been transcribed by Nicholls and printed in 1902 and then in 1910, shows that Benson used the previously published text in preference to the MS version.

In his 'Textual Note' Benson admits to correcting Emily Brontë's spelling and adding 'ordinary punctuation throughout' as well as including his own 'conjectural emendations'.[114] He gives as an example of this the word 'flowless' that first appeared in the Dodd, Mead version of 'How still, how happy!' and had been noted in Shorter's edition by the reviewer of *The Athenæum*. That poem is from the EJB notebook and so Benson was not able to examine the MS, but he conjectured that 'flowless' was a misreading of 'flow'rless', so giving a third version of the poem.

In his review of the book for the *Times Literary Supplement* Walter de la Mare criticised this substitution, saying that 'flowless' fits more effectively with the nature of the stanza,[115] thereby preferring Dodd, Mead's misprint or misreading of Nicholls' transcript over Benson's 'conjectural emendation[s]'

Walter de la Mare, who thought that the volume would have been better reserved entirely for Emily's poems, makes a pertinent point about Benson's conjectures. His view is that rather than explaining about 'ordinary punctuation' and 'conjectural emendations' but only giving one example from the text: '[…] it would

[110] The copyright of the Gondal notebook did not belong to Shorter as it had not passed through his hands in the 1895 transactions with Nicholls.
[111] Brown and Mott, ed. (1938), p.5.
[112] E. Brontë, 'Why ask to know what date what clime', 13 May 1848.
[113] Benson, ed. (1915), p.xxii.
[114] Benson, ed. (1915), p.xxi.
[115] Walter de la Mare, 'A Family of Genius', *TLS*, 8 April 1915, p.117.

have been more soothing to know precisely *all* that his insight and regard have done in this direction'.[116] This is true. Had Benson done as de la Mare suggests the reader would have been more aware of the distance between his published text and that of whichever MS he was emending.

Benson includes a facsimile of 'Cold in the earth' (Remembrance) from the Gondal notebook, and de la Mare contrasts this with the version printed in 1846. This is the first time that an editor or critic had been able to suggest that there may be a case for allowing the MS version of one of the poems to stand against that of 1846. Shorter did not have access to the holographs for which he held the copyright, and the Gondal notebook had not previously been seen by the public. De la Mare says:

> It is remarkable that in 'Remembrance', which she [Emily] did revise, for publication in 1846, the original readings (given in facsimile on p.167) are at least as interesting as her corrections, if not more forcible than they are.[117]

He prints two stanzas from 'Remembrance' with the 1846 revisions given in brackets as an illustration:

> Sweet love of youth, forgive if I forget thee
> While the World's tide is bearing me along
> Sterner [other] desires and darker [other] hopes beset me
> Hopes which obscure but cannot do thee wrong-
>
> No other sun [no later light] has lightened up my heaven;
> No other star [no second moon] has ever shone for me,
> All my life's bliss for thy dear life was given-
> All my life's bliss is in the grave with thee[118]

Benson's edition has made this reviewer think carefully and deeply about the treatment that Emily's poems had so far received at the hands of her editors, and he casts doubt both on Benson's edition and those that have preceded it. His final remark suggests that having recognised the drawbacks of the present edition, and by implication those of its predecessors, the time was now ripe for a definitive edition:

> Doubt, as soon as it is sown, springs up like mustard seed. One reads on, inflicted with continuous suspicion. Here and there the insertion of a full stop

[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Emily Brontë, 'Cold in the earth and the deep snow piled above thee:' 3 March 1845, de la Mare, *TLS,* (8 April 1915).

> makes worse sense than Emily Brontë could ever have achieved by the omission of one. Reiterated misgivings dog the attentive mind. While, then, we can be grateful to Emily Brontë's present editor for many considerable mercies, it is clear that the master-edition of her poems, unamended, unabridged, authentic, is still to come.[119]

Walter de la Mare made this comment having seen two facsimile reproductions from the Gondal notebook, but with no knowledge of the EJB holograph. It was, however, the publication of Benson's edition that in my view prompted the appearance in the *Rochdale Observer* of an article describing the EJB notebook.

In the autumn of 1915, members of the Rochdale Literary and Scientific Society had visited the library of A.J. Law, one of their members, at his house, Honresfeld.[120] An account of the visit describing the viewing of a 'small volume of Emily Brontë's poems' was published in the *Rochdale Observer*. The account, which describes the volume as that one described by Charlotte in her Preface to *Wuthering Heights*, elicited responses from Robertson Nicoll and Clement Shorter amongst others. Nicoll, writing in the *British Weekly*, of which he was editor said:

> Does this mean that Mr Law possesses the M.S. of Emily Brontë's poems? It can hardly be a complete manuscript. Parts of the poems are in various hands, and if I mistake not, the chief part is in America.[121]

Nicoll's comment here was probably informed by knowledge of the notebooks from which Shorter took some of his 1910 poems, and which Shorter said had been 'handled tenderly' by Charlotte. They were certainly in various hands and moved to America early in the twentieth-century.

Shorter also responded to the article in his paper *The Sphere*, where he said:

> There are to my knowledge at least 5 manuscript collections of Emily Brontë's poems. One small volume of undoubted genuineness is in the possession of Mr. Reginald Smith, K.C.; [the Gondal notebook] another is in the possession of Mr. Thomas Wise [the Ashley notebook]. At least one volume of this character went to America and one into the possession of Mr. Law, but both these were bound up fragments of miscellaneous pieces. [122]

---

[119] Ibid.
[120] The literary collection amassed by William Law in the 1890s had been inherited by his nephew, A.J. Law and was housed in the library at his house, Honresfeld, in Littleborough.
[121] W. Robertson Nicoll, quoted in *The Rochdale Observer*, 1 December 1915.
[122] Clement Shorter, *The Sphere*, 9 October 1915, p.50, U of L, SC Newspapers, 4 April 1914 – 8 February 1919.

In the years between the publication of *Life and Letters* and the writing of this piece in *The Sphere* Shorter seems to have forgotten about the existence of the volume of poems that he had described in 1908, and which was actually the MS by then in the possession of A.J. Law.

The anonymous reporter from the *Rochdale Observer* refuted Shorter's claim that the Law volume was a bound volume of miscellaneous pieces, calling it 'partial knowledge' and saying that 'Scores of people in Rochdale have viewed it for themselves'.[123] This reference to Shorter's 'partial knowledge' is perceptive. It describes exactly the situation from 1895 onwards which led to and reinforced the confusion that surrounded the text and MS sources of Emily Brontë's poems during that time. That situation was largely the result of Shorter's partial knowledge, and of his attempts to conceal it.

Curiously, the one person who could have separated the truth from the speculation in this ongoing discussion, remained silent throughout. Wise, who either sold or gave the EJB notebook to William Law, and who is referred to in the *Observer* article, never became involved in the debate at all. In fact, H.A. Mince who gave a paper on the 'Honresfeld MS' of Emily's poems in the following year, referred several times to 'the late Mr. Thomas James Wise',[124] although Wise was to live for a further twenty-one years.

The 1923 Edition

After publication, A.C. Benson presented a copy of his volume of Brontë poems to the scholar C.W. Hatfield. The copy is now in the BPM and it contains detailed annotations made by Hatfield in response to Benson's edition. He has corrected misattributions and added comments expressing his disagreement with several of Benson's own comments. Under 'Well, some may hate and some may scorn'[125] (EJB 17) Benson had written 'There is little doubt that the poem refers to Branwell Brontë'. Hatfield has responded '<u>No</u> Printed by Emily in the Volume of 1846 more than two years before Branwell died.'[126] It is also in his annotations to this volume that Hatfield first refers to his belief that Charlotte, rather than Emily, was the author of 'Often rebuked yet always back returning'.

[123] *Rochdale Observer* (1 December 1915).
[124] H.A. Mince, 'An Account of the MS. of Emily Brontë's Poems in the Collection of Mr, A.J. Law, Honresfeld, Littleborough' read 3 March 1916, *Transactions of the Rochdale Literary and Scientific Society (TRLSS),* xii. 93 (1916).
[125] E. Brontë, 'Well, some may hate and some may scorn', 14 November 1839.
[126] Benson, ed. (1915), p.264 (annotation by C.W. Hatfield), copy in the BPM.

There is little doubt from the evidence of his annotations that Hatfield was not only meticulous in his attention to detail, but that he also had comprehensive knowledge of Brontë MSS and of the authorship of their poems. It is therefore not surprising that Shorter chose Hatfield as the bibliographic expert for his next volume of Emily Brontë's poems. The edition is nominally edited by Clement Shorter, but arranged and collated by Hatfield, who also supplied a bibliography and notes.[127]

Figure 4.1 shows that the textual transmission of EJB poems in this volume differs slightly from that of the previous three versions. Hatfield has taken the printed texts of 1846 and 1850 for the poems that appear in those books, but for the poems that were transcribed by Nicholls and printed in 1902 and 1910 his approach is more complicated, if not to say confusing. Shorter provided him with the typewritten transcript given him by Wise at the time of his acquisition of the Brontë MSS, and the text that Hatfield provides for these poems is a combination of the typescript, the 1910 version, and some of Benson's emendations, together with Hatfield's own punctuation.

This collation is best illustrated by an examination of two EJB poems. In the EJB notebook (from which the typescript was taken)[128] Emily Brontë wrote the final stanza of 'If grief for grief can touch thee' (EJB 11) as:

> Yes by the tears I've poured,
> By all my hours of pain
> O I shall surely win thee
> Beloved, again![129]

Apart from an additional comma in the first line, Dodd, Mead, and Shorter (in 1910) give an identical text. But this is one of the poems subject to Benson's 'conjectural emendations' and he gives the first line of the final stanza as: 'Yes, by the tears I've poured thee,'[130] which Hatfield reproduces in 1923, although it is highly unlikely that his typescript contained the final 'thee'.

---

[127] Shorter, ed. (1923).

[128] I have not yet been able to trace the present whereabouts of the typescript provided for Shorter by Wise, so in my discussion I am taking the view that it would have been closer to the original text of the poems, as it was taken directly from the holograph. I am continuing to search for it, but a letter from Hatfield to Cook written on 28 April 1926 Hatfield states that he destroyed 'a number of typewritten transcripts some of which bore the initials A.B.N ('Thomas J. Wise Collection', Rare Books and Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library: Z1024. U56v. 183-192: V.186 Folders 1-4 – 1-5: Hatfield – Cook correspondence – 1925-1926). It is possible that these transcripts formed at least part of the set made by Wise for Shorter in 1895.

[129] E. Brontë, 'If grief for grief can touch thee', 18 May 1840.

[130] Benson, ed. (1915).

The second poem is EJB 19, 'I see around me tombstones grey', which Nicholls transcribed as 'I see around me piteous tombstones grey'. He also substituted the word 'mother' for 'rather' in the forty-third line, giving 'No, mother on thy kindly breast' in preference to Emily's line, 'No – rather on thy kindly breast',[131] a misreading that was repeated by Dodd, Mead, Shorter, and Benson. Rather than relying entirely on the previously printed versions here, Hatfield has apparently consulted the typescript, but not for the entire poem. His first line reads 'I see around me tombstones grey' as does the EJB notebook and presumably the typescript, as it was taken from the holograph. But in the second questionable line he gives the Nicholls reading, adding a new exclamation mark: 'No, mother! On thy kindly breast'.[132]

Additional punctuation is one of the notable features of Hatfield's presentation of the 1923 edition. Benson had professed to 'normalise' the punctuation, but Hatfield adds more. A close comparison of the text of the poems between 1915 and 1923 shows some movement back and forwards as emendations are adopted or discarded, and the text of the typescript is sometimes preferred over the printed edition, but there is a consistent increase in punctuation.

A further feature of the 1923 edition, and one that affects the reading of Emily Brontë's poems to the present day, is Hatfield's adoption of a chronology. The book is set out, as previous editions, with the poems printed in 1846 appearing first, followed by those printed by Charlotte in 1850. These are followed by two further sections: 'Dated Manuscripts Arranged in Chronological Order', and 'Undated Manuscripts'.[133] Although Emily labelled most of her poems even on subsequent transcriptions with the date of composition, she did not transcribe them in chronological order in her EJB and Gondal notebooks. The chronological approach adopted by Hatfield, while reducing dependence on previous printed editions, serves to distance the poems from their original contextual settings.

In his Preface Hatfield thanks Shorter for the provision of the typewritten transcript, and Henry Houston Bonnell for examining the handwriting in the bound copies of Brontë MSS in his possession which enabled Hatfield to make more accurate attributions of authorship. He also provides a section headed 'Notes on Some Brontë Poems Manuscripts Which Have Been Wrongly Attributed to Emily Brontë,' in which he examines the bound notebooks containing the poems

[131] E. Brontë, 17 July 1841.
[132] Hatfield in Shorter, ed. (1923), pp.136-137.
[133] Shorter, ed. (1923).

mistakenly printed as the work of Emily Brontë in 1910.[134] These bound notebooks were the 'tenderly handled'[135] notebooks referred to by Shorter in 1910, which he later described as bound miscellaneous fragments in *The Sphere*.

In his painstaking manner, Hatfield gives a careful description of these notebooks. There are four in all, three bound by Riviere, and one by a binder called Zaehnsdorf which was also a London bindery, based in Bermondsey. He describes the likely authorship of the poems contained in the book, based on his assessment of: the internal evidence from the poems, the handwriting, or the presence of a copy of a poem which has been attributed to Emily Brontë in these notebooks in a separate MS signed by a different member of the family.[136] In 1923 Hatfield said that he had been unable to trace the history of these bound volumes, and said:

> […] it seems clear that some early owner or owners of the manuscripts, no doubt misled by the microscopic writing, believed them to be Emily Brontë's compositions, and had them bound as her work. It is probably due to that initial error that most of these poems have appeared in more than one edition among the poems of Emily Brontë.[137]

Perhaps at that time he was unfamiliar with the binding practices of T.J. Wise. But in 1929 he wrote an introduction to a privately circulated printing of a catalogue of Wise's Brontë books, autograph letters and MSS,[138] in which Wise describes the binding of the 'Ashley' notebook by Riviere.[139] Hatfield's introduction to this volume suggests that its contents comprise all the Brontë MSS in existence known by Wise or himself to have been collected by Wise. And yet three years previously, in 1926, Hatfield had been presented with a transcription of the EJB notebook, made by Davidson Cook, which noted that it had been 'bound by Riviere and Son for T.J. Wise'.[140] That MS is not mentioned in the 1929 catalogue. When Hatfield edited his 1941 volume of Emily's poems the misattribution of the poems in the bound notebooks was again noted, but even though he was then writing from a, presumably, more educated perspective, he still forbore to suggest that Wise may have had a part in their history.

---

[134] Hatfield in Shorter, ed. (1923), p.xvii.
[135] Shorter, ed. (1910), p.vi.
[136] Shorter, ed. (1910), pp.xvii-xxiv.
[137] Shorter, ed. (1910), p.xix.
[138] T.J. Wise, *A Brontë Library: a catalogue of printed books, manuscripts and autograph letters by members of the Brontë family* / collected by Thomas James Wise (London: Printed for private circulation only, 1929).
[139] Wise (1929), p.38.
[140] Cook, ed. (May 1926).

The *Times Literary Supplement* review of the 1923 edition, written by Professor Ernest de Selincourt[141] was extremely critical of the apparent textual confusion of the volume. De Selincourt examines the book in contrast to Benson's edition and says:

> […] there is no more confidence to be placed in this edition than in those which have preceded it (and it should specially be noted that in many cases, there has been no fresh examination of manuscripts, but a recurrence to old and worthless typewritten transcripts) […][142]

In writing his review he was apparently unaware of the balance of the contributions from both Shorter and Hatfield. In fact, there were none from Shorter, but de Selincourt wrote his review as if all the editorial responsibilities were Shorter's. Both Shorter and Hatfield responded to the review in the following weeks, and it was in his response to this piece that Shorter finally described the circumstances that had led to the removal of the MSS from his keeping, and their replacement with the 'rough' typewritten transcript.

De Selincourt noted the tendency of the 1923 edition not to refer to previous editors by name. He said that it was often apparent to whom the writer was referring, but that it was not made clear for the reader:

> Evasiveness might almost be said to be the watchword of this new edition. It would be difficult to decide whether the aim of the introductory notes is to give or to conceal knowledge.[143]

This is a significant comment, and in my view it is relevant not only to this edition, but also to much of the textual and MS information of Emily Brontë's poems from 1895 to 1923. There is a spectre lurking behind much of the information both given out, and concealed, about Brontë MSS in the early part of the twentieth-century, and that spectre is T.J. Wise. Although he is mentioned only rarely by editors of Emily Brontë's poetry it is clear that he continued to exert influence. Certainly, in the results of his earlier actions in respect of the MSS, but also, quite possibly, in his strength of character and his influential position. When considering the light in which his contemporaries must have viewed him, it is hard not to forget his treatment of the aging Ellen Nussey in 1895. At the age of seventy-eight, two years before her death, she seems to have been becoming forgetful and confused about the sales

[141] Professor Ernest de Selincourt was an academic, literary critic and editor.
[142] Professor Ernest de Selincourt, 'The Text of Emily Brontë', *TLS*, 13 March 1924, p.149.
[143] Ibid.

and ownership of her Brontë letters. She had apparently forgotten that she had sold her letters to Wise for £150 and he wrote to her demanding that she send him a full apology through her solicitors, and threatening that if she did not, he would have her arrested and prosecuted for perjury.[144]

Wise was the one person who could probably have helped to clear up the textual confusion around the poetry MSS. He was a respected bibliographer, and by 1900 he was a Vice President of the Brontë Society, becoming President in 1926.[145] But his voice is never heard in any of the debates on the authenticity of texts or MSS.

The importance of Hatfield's work on the Brontë MSS for the 1923 edition is evident. He resolved many of the uncertainties or untruths about authorship, although he did not make clear the reasons for those uncertainties. But still, as Ernest de Selincourt had said, the text of the poems remained unreliable. Hatfield made some use of the typescript provided by Wise in 1895, but he was not consistent in this. There was still need for the 'master-edition' of the poems for which Walter de la Mare appealed in 1915.[146]

Three years later, in 1926, an event occurred which ought to have made this possible, at least for the poems of the EJB notebook. But the historic treatment of the poems, together with Hatfield's chronological approach and his enthusiasm for punctuation, combined to ensure that this did not happen.

[144] T.J. Wise to Ellen Nussey, 24 July 1895, BPM, TA452.100.
[145] Charles Lemon, *A Centenary History of the Brontë Society* (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1993).
[146] De la Mare (1915).

Chapter Five: The Reappearance of the EJB Notebook, and the Potential for a Definitive Edition

The textual development of Emily's poems, and particularly of those from the EJB notebook, was greatly influenced by the business relationship between Wise and Shorter in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But in 1925-6 a new partnership was formed which was to have a significant, and very different effect on future readings of the poems.

In November 1925, an antiquarian called Davidson Cook[1] published an article in *The Bookman*. The article, which was titled 'Brontë Manuscripts in the Law Collection', described the extensive Brontë collection belonging to A.J. Law of Honresfeld in Rochdale.[2] Cook, who was an authority on the works of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott, had realised the extent of the Law Brontë collection when he was at Honresfeld working with other MSS in the library. It was among this collection that he rediscovered the EJB notebook.

The publication of the article led to a correspondence lasting at least ten years, between Cook and the established Brontë scholar C.W. Hatfield. It seems unlikely that the two ever actually met, but in this chapter I bring together the two sides of their correspondence to give a coherent account of the scrupulously conscientious work that they did together to establish textual accuracy for the poems of the EJB notebook. The Cook – Hatfield partnership led to Cook's decision to make a complete transcription, together with a description, of the EJB notebook. Unlike published editions of Emily Brontë's poetry, Davidson Cook's transcript it not widely known, but here I examine it and consider its importance in the light of the current inaccessibility of the holograph.

Cook's rediscovery of the notebook, and his textual collaboration with Hatfield made it possible from that time onwards, for an editor to produce an edition of Emily's poetry including the EJB poems, presented as she wrote and sequenced them. But this still did not happen. I propose, based on an historical examination of the texts, that certain editorial choices or decisions stood in the way of this definitive edition. These barriers were the continuing preference for the 1846 text and sequence over that of the notebook, the chronological presentation of the poems,

[1] Thomas Davidson Cook, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (Scotland) (usually referred to as Davidson Cook), was a haberdasher with the Barnsley Co-operative Society, a member of the Scottish Society of Antiquarians, and a founder member of the Barnsley Booklovers' Club. His expertise was in Scottish songs and ballads, and the works of Robert Burns and Walter Scot.
[2] Davidson Cook, 'Brontë Manuscripts in the Law Collection', *The Bookman*, November 1925, pp.100-104.

and a series of inconsistent editorial changes which mainly affected Emily Brontë's punctuation and orthography, but in some cases also changed the text itself.

Figures 3.1, 4.1, and 5.1 (which will support this chapter) record the textual transmission of the poems from 1844 to the present day. But these diagrams cannot record all the editorial decisions that affect the way that the poems have been, and continue to be, read. In this chapter I investigate the provenance of the decisions to present the poems chronologically and to revise both punctuation and orthography, and I examine the effects that these editorial practices have had on the reading of the poems.

In 1934 T.J. Wise and J.A. Symington[3] edited a volume of *The Poems of Emily Jane Brontë and Anne Brontë* as part of the 'Shakespeare Head Brontë' (SHB) series.[4] This edition is notable for containing what have been believed to be exact facsimile reproductions of the EJB notebook, and of a notebook of poems by Anne Brontë, also from the Law collection at Honresfeld. From 1939 the EJB holograph was inaccessible for public scrutiny and so the SHB facsimile became the most important textual source for the poems of the notebook. I describe what I consider to be incontrovertible evidence that the facsimile that was published in 1934 was edited by Wise and Symington, and that the resulting text and representation of the notebook has less factual authority than was previously thought. This situation is bound to affect the interpretations of the twentieth-century editors and critics who had no reason to doubt the validity and veracity of their source.

The five editions of Emily Brontë's poems that were published between 1941 and 1995 were driven by different editorial decisions and preferences. Figure 5.1 describes the textual transmission that resulted in each of these volumes, and I examine the sequencing, the treatment of punctuation and orthography, and the collations that have led to today's editions of the poems. These are the volumes that inform the present-day understanding of Emily Brontë's poetry. Together with the 'Emily lexicon' begun by Charlotte soon after Emily's death, they influence

---

[3] John Alexander Symington was a Leeds librarian and book-collector. He worked as Edward Brotherton's librarian at Roundhay Hall in Leeds, where he curated Brotherton's collection of MSS and rare books. When Brotherton (then Lord Brotherton) donated the collection to the University of Leeds Symington moved with the collection as librarian of the Brotherton Collection. John Smurthwaite, *The Life of John Alexander Symington, Bibliographer and Librarian, 1887–1961: a Bookman's Rise and Fall* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1995).
From 1926-1930 Symington was also Honorary Librarian Curator at the Brontë Parsonage Museum and editor of the Brontë Society Transactions. He resigned suddenly in 1930 following the discovery that several items had gone missing from the BPM collection. Lemon (1993).

[4] Wise and Symington, ed. (1934).

contemporary criticism and the continuing view of her as a writer. I propose that the evidence presented in this thesis prepares the way for both the still unachieved definitive edition of Emily's poetry that was demanded by Walter de la Mare in 1915, and for the new vocabulary that will describe Emily Brontë the writer and thinker, unfettered by the constraints of the 'Emily lexicon'.

Cook's Rediscovery

In his review of Shorter and Hatfield's 1923 edition of Emily Brontë's poems, significantly entitled 'The Text of Emily Brontë', Ernest de Selincourt drew attention to the textual anomalies and inaccuracies that had persisted in early twentieth-century editions of Emily's poetry.[5] It was his view that there was a need for 'scholarly conscientiousness'[6] in the treatment of textual variation, and that this had not yet been applied to Emily's poems. Chapter Four has described the confusions and obfuscations that surrounded the poems and MSS from the time of their removal from Nicholls, until de Selincourt was writing in1923, and a recognition of these circumstances goes some way towards explaining the reasons for the textual deficiencies that he noted. But in 1925 something occurred that made the application of that 'scholarly conscientiousness'[7] to Emily's poetry a real possibility.

During the time that the antiquarian Davidson Cook was examining Burns and Scott MSS in Sir Alfred Law's library at Honresfeld in Littleborough, Rochdale, he became aware of an extensive collection of Brontë MSS and artefacts, among which was the EJB notebook. Cook must have been following the correspondence relating to de Selincourt's article in the *TLS* because in the first article that he published about Law's Brontë collection he refers to a letter written by Shorter in response to the review. In the article, which was published in *The Bookman*, Cook also says of the EJB notebook, 'This manuscript might be expected to yield useful information and authoritatively settle some questions of dubious text.'[8] It seems likely that the questions on textual reliability raised by de Selincourt in his review were the ones that Cook felt could be answered by a scrutiny of the notebook.

Cook's reference to the EJB notebook comes in a wider ranging article in which he describes the Law Collection and the Brontë artefacts and MSS that it contained, and in which he also questions the apparent mystery that surrounded the collection. He notes that it is not referred to by the editors of the three most recent

[5] De Selincourt (1924).
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Cook (1925), p.103

collections of Brontë poems,[9] nor is it mentioned in Hatfield's Bibliography of Brontë MSS that had appeared in *The Brontë Society Transactions* of 1924.[10] Cook's observation raises the question of why the collection was unknown to these editors, and particularly to Shorter. In the article that Shorter wrote for *The Sphere* refuting the *Rochdale Observer*'s designation of the EJB notebook as the book of Emily's poems that Charlotte referred to in her 1850 preface to *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*, he had said:

> Some account has been given in the newspapers of the library formed by the late Mr Law of Littleborough. I knew Mr. Law very well, and have pleasant memories of book-hunting with him in Paris. He was an enthusiastic collector of Brontë treasures […].[11]

And yet Shorter had apparently no idea of the results or extent of William Law's activities as a collector.

According to Cook, the Law collection contained many items that had been obtained from Martha Brown, a servant of the Brontë family:

> Martha Brown, the family servant of the Brontës has a niche of her own in the Brontëana of this great collection. There are a goodly number of volumes presented to her by Patrick Brontë, Charlotte and Emily, with signed and dated inscriptions on the flyleaves.[12]

But it is evident that the EJB notebook did not come to Law from this source. First, according to Cook's description the notebook is stamped 'Bound by Riviere and Son for T.J. Wise' and bears Wise's bookplate. Second, it was described by Shorter in *The Brontës: Lives and Letters*,[13] a description which I argue was obtained from Wise, rather than from Shorter's first-hand experience. And finally, the textual evolution of the poems themselves provides evidence of the history and provenance of the notebook.

EJB 18, 'Far, far away is mirth withdrawn;' was mis-transcribed by Arthur Bell Nicholls in the Huntington transcript, which went on to provide the text for the Dodd, Mead edition of 1902 (see Figure 4.1). Nicholls wrote the first line as 'Far, far is mirth withdrawn' and in the fifth stanza he replaced the word 'Gommorah' with

[9] These were Shorter, ed. (1910), Benson, ed. (1915), and Shorter, ed. and Hatfield (1923).
[10] C.W. Hatfield, 'The Early Manuscripts of Charlotte Brontë: A Bibliography', *BST*, volume 6, issues 32-34, 1924.
[11] Shorter, (9 October 1915), p.50.
[12] Cook (1925), p.103.
[13] Shorter (1908), p.432.

'Zamornah', writing 'On cursed Zamornah's howling plain' instead of 'On cursed Gommorah's howling plain -'.[14] Both mistakes were carried over into Shorter's 1910 edition. But when Hatfield compiled the 1923 edition for Shorter he rectified the mistakes and noted beneath the poem, 'I have not been able to trace the original manuscript of the poem, but in a typewritten transcript (for the use of which I am indebted to Mr. Clement Shorter) the name [Gomorrah][15] is correctly given;'.[16] Hatfield's use of the typewritten transcript in 1923 indicates that the EJB notebook was certainly among those MSS brought from Nicholls by Shorter in 1895, and then transcribed by Wise for Shorter's use.

It seems that the mystery surrounding the Law collection in the 1920s was one which could have been solved by more openness from Wise, which in turn may have led to an earlier and clearer knowledge of the poems of the EJB notebook and to a greater textual accuracy in the early editions. Certainly, there is no suggestion that William Law's beneficiary, Alfred later Sir A.J. Law, was secretive about the collection. He seems to have allowed access when it was requested, at least until the mid-1920s. It is more likely that the existence of the collection was not widely known, and so access was not generally requested. Consequently, in the first part of the twentieth-century, knowledge of the collection seemed to hover on the fringes of the consciousness of the literary world. As a result, the EJB notebook gained an almost legendary status as the notebook which Charlotte found, and which may or may not actually exist, and which may or may not have been in the possession of William and then Alfred Law at Honresfeld. Davidson Cook's discovery in 1925 changed all this. It established the holograph both as reality and as a vital piece of evidence in the history of Emily Brontë's poems. It was not only Cook's discovery, but also the painstaking approach, the 'scholarly conscientiousness' which both he and Hatfield applied to it, that has made a present-day understanding of Emily's poems possible, if not yet actually attained.

Scholarly Conscientiousness

The evolution of the scholarly approach to the poems of the EJB notebook can be traced through the correspondence that took place between Cook and Hatfield from 1925 to 1934. Tom Winnifrith refers to Hatfield's side of the correspondence in his

[14] Nicholls, trans., HM 2581.
[15] Hatfield has either corrected Emily Brontë's spelling in the 1923 edition, or the conventional spelling is given in the typewritten transcript.
[16] C.W. Hatfield, Shorter, ed. (1923), pp.130-131.

1983 essay on Brontë 'Texts and Transmission'.[17] But here I have been able to combine both sides of the correspondence, making possible an exploration of the thought processes and the developing ideas and discoveries of the partnership.[18] The letters trace the process that was created by Hatfield's asking the right questions in order for Cook to find the truths hidden in the Honresfeld collection.

The connection between Cook and Hatfield, which was to have such important consequences for the future of Emily's poems, followed Cook's *Bookman* article of November 1925. His first article was succeeded by a transcription (also in *The Bookman*) of a 'Playlet' by Charlotte Brontë together with an explanatory note, in December 1925.[19] The same issue carried a review by Keighley Snowden,[20] of *The Twelve Adventurers and Other Stories* by Charlotte Brontë.[21] The first extant letter between Cook and Hatfield was written by Hatfield on 10 December 1925 and refers to differences between the published text of *The Twelve Adventurers* and a MS of the same story from the Honresfeld collection.[22] It seems that Cook, who had access to the collection at Honresfeld, had noted differences between the two and had shared his observations with Hatfield. Hatfield's letter, which is long and detailed and prefaces a shared interest which was to have great significance for the text of the EJB poems, is evidently a reply to an earlier letter which is no longer available.

The dialogue that follows this first surviving letter tells the story of the emerging recognition of the textual differences between published Brontë texts and Honresfeld MSS. The openness and shared ideas that are evident within the letters contrast strongly with the secrecy and self-interest that had been the hallmarks of the Wise and Shorter relationship. Significantly, both Hatfield and Cook admit to making mistakes and wrong assumptions during their research and transcriptions,

---

[17] Tom Winnifrith, 'Texts and Transmission', Edward Chitham and Tom Winnifrith, *Brontë Facts and Brontë Problems* (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp.14-19.
[18] Cook's side of the correspondence is in the BPM, SB:3111, Hatfield's is in 'Thomas J. Wise Ephemera', Rare Books and Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library (Z1024.U56v. 183-192: V.186 Folders 1-4 – 1-5). Unfortunately, the reference that Winnifrith gives is inaccurate. He cites the University of Columbia, rather than the University of British Columbia where the collection is actually housed. In the ensuing discussion I will cite these two sources as 'BPM' and 'UBC'.
[19] Charlotte Brontë, 'Conversations: A Dialogue Playlet in Prose and Verse' (Never before printed), Transcribed, and with an Explanatory Note, by Davidson Cook, *The Bookman*, December 1925, pp.155-156.
[20] J. Keighley Snowden was an author from the West Riding of Yorkshire.
[21] Keighley Snowden, 'The Twelve Adventurers and Other Stories, by Charlotte Brontë', *The Bookman*, December 1925, pp.57-58.
[22] C.W. Hatfield to Davidson Cook. 10 December 1925, UBC.

but rather than being hidden these mistakes are openly admitted and used within the dialogue as a means to clarify the truth.[23]

After reading Cook's *Bookman* article Hatfield was evidently keen to pursue the suggestion that the Emily Brontë MS in the collection might settle some textual issues. In his letter of 10 December 1925 he says:

> The original manuscript volume of poems by Emily Brontë seems to me to be the most valuable Brontë item in the Honresfeld collection. If it contains any poems not printed by Emily in the 1846 volume, could you not get them photographed and reproduced in facsimile in the Brontë Society Publications, or elsewhere, say in a privately printed volume?[24]

It seems that Hatfield, who had worked for Shorter on the 1923 edition and so was familiar with the printed versions of the poems, was directing Cook's research in the Honresfeld library. Over the following months he made suggestions on which Cook, with his access to the collection, acted. On 9 January Hatfield wrote:

> I could tell a long tale about these manuscripts and the sacrilegious manner in which they have been treated for the purposes of financial gain, but you are doubtless interested only in those you are handling, and they fortunately have come down to their owner in a perfect condition. That they are the actual manuscripts from which the imperfect transcripts in my possession were made I have not the least doubt, […].
> With regard to the Emily Jane Brontë manuscript in the Honresfeld Library you will doubtless find variations between the text and that printed, but if all the poems were printed in the 1846 volume the variants will be of but little moment. If however any of the poems were not printed until after 1846 the variations from the printed text, if any, will be of the utmost importance.[25]

This is a thought-provoking extract. It suggests that Hatfield, although he had remained publicly silent on the subject of Wise's actions with the Brontë MSS, was more knowledgeable on the subject than he had felt able to declare. But it also shows that although he was aware of some of Wise's MS dealings, he was not conscious that the EJB notebook had been affected by Wise, as I have shown that it was in Chapter Three, when comparing it with the apparently unsullied Gondal notebook.

---

[23] For example, after Cook had admitted to problems in finding evidence for the identity of the 'penciller' of the EJB notebook, Hatfield replied with a very detailed examination of the differences between Emily's and Charlotte's handwriting, Hatfield to Cook, 12 June 1926, UBC.
[24] Hatfield to Cook, 10 December 1925, UBC.
[25] Hatfield to Cook, 9 January 1926, UBC.

The letter also indicates that in 1926 Hatfield was still in possession of at least some of the typewritten transcripts made by Wise for Shorter in 1895.[26] But most crucially, it is here that Hatfield encourages Cook to look for the differences between the text of the MS and any poems that it might contain that were published after Emily's death.

Hatfield's side of this correspondence is more complete than Cook's, and not every response of Cook's exists, at least in the BPM collection. In a letter dated 12 January Hatfield's comments indicate that Cook has sent him some information about poems included in the notebook because he says:

> Emily's manuscript clearly contains poems not included in the 1846 volume as it contains at least one poem dated after the publication of that volume. I hope that if you are able to send me any information about this MS. you will give me the date of every poem that is dated and any variations in the text of the poems not included in the 1846 book. Of course I should like to have the variations between the poems as Emily printed them and as they appear in her MS. but I do not ask for them. I shall think you are very good if you give me the other information![27]

Hatfield's interest in a chronological presentation of the poems is emerging here. Cook's response to the letter does exist, and in it he agrees to give all possible help and he suggests that Hatfield send him a copy of the 1923 edition as he has only been able to consult it in the John Rylands Library in Manchester. He offers to note every variation between the MS and the printed text and agrees to make a note of all the dates given in the notebook.

Over the next three months Cook and Hatfield share transcripts and typescripts, and they collaborate on trying to achieve textual authenticity for the Brontë works contained in the Honresfeld collection. But it is in a letter from Cook to Hatfield, dated 11 April 1926 that the next significant event for the text of the EJB notebook occurs. Cook wrote:

> Now for the news! I took back the Brontë MSS. to Littleborough on Thursday and spent the afternoon there. I have brought back with me:
> 1. The little volume of CHARACTERS.
> 2. The Branwell letters with POEMS.
> 3. The MS. volume of POEMS BY EMILY.

[26] There is a hint, in a letter written to Cook on 28 April 1926, that Hatfield had destroyed some of these transcripts previously; apparently when he was moving house from Pershore to Kidderminster. But it is possible that some, the ones in his possession in 1926, still exist. They are not amongst the Hatfield papers in the BPM, but I am continuing to search for them.
[27] Hatfield to Cook, 12 January 1926, UBC.

> […] I have some wonderful news for you about the Emily volume of MSS. But I fear it must wait. Briefly, one poem as printed[28] is minus a verse WHICH IS in the MS, and in THE BLUEBELL p.38[29] four verses have been omitted between the sixth and seventh printed stanzas. The volume contains 31 poems, and affords numerous corrections. For instance in the penultimate line of the famous poem 'No coward soul is mine' the first THOU should be SINCE THOU ART BEING AND BREATH. If you have THE WOMAN AT HOME for 1897 see the facsimile and you will agree. Strange to say my wife used to take that journal and had several years bound, and by good luck that is one of them.
>
> Many improvements in the text are revealed by this important MS. I will come back to it again, and I mean to make complete copies of it for you and I.[30]

The first poem that Cook refers to, with one missing stanza, is EJB 2 'A little while, a little while' and the stanza omitted by Charlotte was the sixth, which reads:

> Shall I go there? or shall I seek
> Another clime, another sky.
> Where tongues familiar[31] music speak
> In accents dear to[32] memory?[33]

This letter contains the first revelation of Charlotte's extensive revisions in her preparation of the 1850 text, and the discovery that Cook describes here is one which changed the reading of Emily's poems from that time onwards. Had Cook, encouraged by Hatfield, not made and disclosed this discovery, the notebook would have continued in obscurity, and knowledge of Emily's verse would have continued to be partial and fragmentary. Belief in the authority of Charlotte's revisions would have persisted, and a truly contextual reading would have remained impossible.

The letter also makes an important point about the conditions surrounding the Law collection at that time. Alfred Law was apparently happy to allow Cook to remove MSS from Honresfeld to take to his own house in Barnsley for examination. This supports my view that rather than being kept purposely secret and guarded, the collection was only unknown at that time because its existence had not been overtly advertised.

---

[28] Where Cook refers to poems 'as printed' he is referring to the text of the 1923 edition sent him by Hatfield.
[29] P.38 is the page on which 'The Bluebell' appears in the 1923 edition.
[30] Cook to Hatfield, 11 April 1926, BPM.
[31] In his 1926 article in *The Nineteenth Century and After* Cook inserts a comma here (Cook, August 1926), but there is none on the holograph.
[32] Cook transcribes 'to' as ''t', but although the <o> is very small it is not in the correct place for <'> so I suggest that it is more likely to be <o>.
[33] Emily Brontë, 'A little while, a little while' 4 December 1838.

Finally, the letter explains the provenance and purpose of Cook's transcript of the EJB notebook, one copy of which is now in the BPM. This is the first indication that Cook planned to make a transcription of the notebook, but it was completed by 3 May 1926, and one copy had been dedicated to Hatfield by 15 May 1926.[34]

Once Cook had suggested transcribing the notebook Hatfield agreed with alacrity. In his response to Cook's letter he said:

> The manuscript volume of poems by Emily is probably much the most valuable of the Brontë manuscripts in Mr. Law's collection. I wish that he would have every page photographed and printed in facsimile, but in any case do not part with the MS. until you have made an accurate transcript of everything it contains with as detailed a description of the pages as you can make.[35]

Later in the same letter he makes a comment that serves as a reminder that this research was not Cook's main occupation, but that he was in fact an enthusiastic amateur. As well as the research and transcription that he was doing on the Honresfeld MSS, he had a full-time job as the manager of the Drapery department of the Barnsley Co-operative Store, and scholarly activity was carried out in the evenings after a full day's work:

> This Brontë work is all very fascinating but mind you don't drive the hobby too hard and get tired of it: a busy man like yourself ought to get to bed before midnight. As for myself I find that I'm tired enough when 11pm comes round and I generally put my papers away before that time.[36]

It is intriguing to think that the literary world owes its knowledge of the EJB poems to a drapery manager who spent his limited spare time in investigating and transcribing MSS for his own interest.

Cook's response shows some acknowledgement of Hatfield's concern. He agrees that it will take some time to make a complete transcription of the notebook, but says, '[…] I realise its supreme importance, and you can depend on getting an absolute copy of it page by page.'[37]

The correspondence that follows suggests that Cook's exposure of Charlotte's editing practices in his article for *The Nineteenth Century and After* was

[34] Cook, ed. (May 1926), [Inscribed] 'To Mr. C.W. Hatfield With SINCERE REGARDS FROM Davidson Cook 15 MAY 1926', 'Transcription completed Monday 3 May 1926, Davidson Cook, F.S.A. Scot.'
[35] Hatfield to Cook, 13 April 1926, UBC.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Cook to Hatfield, 15 April 1926, BPM.

heavily influenced by his dialogues with Hatfield. It was in this article, published in August 1926, that Cook first revealed Charlotte's extensive changes to Emily's poems, but in April of that year Hatfield had written to him:

> Eight of the thirty-one poems were included by Charlotte in the 1850 edition of WUTHERING HEIGHTS. Until you gave me the first verse from the MS. of 'A little while, a little while' I had never doubted the reliability of the text of the 1850 volume, but I feel sure now that we shall have to conclude that the differences in print are Charlotte's and not Emily's.[38]

This is a forerunner to Cook's description of Charlotte's 'altermania' in his *Nineteenth Century and After* article.[39]

On 11 June 1926 Hatfield wrote to Cook thanking him for some photographs that Cook had sent him of pages from the EJB notebook. From an examination of these photos Hatfield was able to recognise the 'penciller' as Charlotte rather than Emily, and he promised to send facsimiles of the 'mature handwriting of both'[40] so that in future Cook would be able to defend his views that Charlotte had made many changes to the MS.

This letter does not detail which poems Cook had photographed for Hatfield, but in a letter to Cook written eight years later, and now in the BPM, Hatfield recollects the occasion:

> I should like to have your opinion as to having facsimiles printed of the three photographs you sent me – the first page of "A little while" part of a page of "The Bluebell"; and "The last lines." […].'[41]

The photographs cited in this letter are now among the Hatfield papers in the BPM and the reasons for the choice of photographs are evident. The first page of 'A little while' is heavily edited by 'the penciller', the extract from 'The Bluebell' is the second page of the poem which, as well as having pencilled changes also includes the verses omitted by Charlotte, and 'The last lines', which is actually 'No coward soul is mine', shows the differences between Emily's version and the text published by Charlotte. Hatfield never actually saw the EJB holograph, and these photographs, together with Cook's transcript and notes, were among his only records of the 'true' MS.

---

[38] Hatfield to Cook, 21 April 1926, UBC.
[39] Cook (August 1926).
[40] Hatfield to Cook, 11 June 1926, UBC.
[41] Hatfield to Cook, 6 August 1934, BPM.

At the time that Hatfield wrote his letter of 11 June, Cook was still in possession of the EJB notebook and Hatfield made a final request respecting it:

> Before you part with Emily's MS. I should like to send you my volume of the 1910 poems for you to insert all the differences in the text which the Honresfeld MS. reveals and for you to initial all the alterations. If I am ever again engaged in preparing a volume of her poems it would be of great value to have such authority for the changes, and as the volume already contains numerous alterations your initials would at once indicate where my indebtedness lay.[42]

I have already discovered books that had belonged to Hatfield, and been annotated by him, in the BPM, so it seemed likely that the copy to which he refers in this letter would be in the BPM library and indeed it is.

The book is inscribed 'CW Hatfield' on the front flyleaf and Cook has added notes to all the poems that appear in the EJB notebook.[43] He numbers the lines in the poems where corrections are needed, and then lists the corrections next to their numbers beneath each poem. He also changes the dates of poems where they do not agree with the notebook and makes a number of comments on the process that he has used in deciphering. Underneath 'Loud without the wind was roaring' Cook has written, 'CAREFULLY COLLATED WITH THE ORIGINAL MS 20th JUNE 1926. D.C.' Where no changes are needed, such as in 'If grief for grief can touch thee' Cook has written, 'TEXT AGREES WITH HONRESFELD MS'.

Hatfield had made previous changes to the text of some of the poems, presumably after reference to Shorter's type-written transcript, and where this has occurred, for example in 'Fair sinks the summer evening now' Cook has written, 'ALL ALTERATIONS NOTED AGREE WITH HONRESFELD MS D.C.' The same process has been followed in 'I see around me tombstones grey' where Hatfield has made changes to the text in red ink and Cook has noted beneath, 'RED INK READINGS AGREE WITH HONRESFELD MS.' It is worth noting that although Cook always retains Emily's original spellings in any transcription that he makes, he has not changed the spelling in the text of this book to make it agree with the original.

Hatfield was not to produce the next edition of Emily Brontë's poems, but the work that he and Cook had done remains invaluable to readings of her poetry. Neither was to know that the notebook would vanish from the public eye in the next

[42] Hatfield to Cook, 11 June 1926, UBC.
[43] Shorter, ed. (1910), Inscribed by C.W. Hatfield, annotated by Davidson Cook and C.W. Hatfield, BPM.

decade, but the questions that Hatfield had asked, and the transcript that Cook produced as a result, have ensured that the text and construction of the notebook, together with the knowledge of its existence, have not been lost to scholarship.

The 1926 Transcript

Cook made three copies of the transcript,[44] and as he told Hatfield, one was intended for himself and one, now in the BPM, was for Hatfield. The recipient of the third transcript has until now remained unknown. But by combining information from the letters in the University of British Columbia with the Minutes of the Barnsley Booklovers' Club of which Cook was a founder member, I have been able to identify the third recipient as Jessie Hare Wakefield, a fellow-member of the Club and a literary collaborator of Cook's.

The Minutes of the Booklovers' Club record its activities from its inception in 1919 to its close in 1936, and T.D. Cook was an active member throughout. As well as being a founder-member he served variously as President, Press Steward, Chairman, and Secretary. The accounts of the meetings record Cook's literary contributions, several of which were closely connected to his research in the Honresfeld Library. On 11 September 1925 the minutes state:

> Mr. T.D. Cook exhibited some most interesting and valuable unpublished MSS of Charlotte Brontë with other items used by Mrs Gaskell in her biography of the Haworth celebrity. […] Mr. T.D. Cook also read his 'Bookman article' dealing with the literary treasures of the Honresfeld Library.[45]

It seems likely that the valuable MSS that Cook exhibited at the meeting was from the Honresfeld collection, as his letters to Hatfield make it plain that he was trusted to remove items from the collection to examine at home.

Although Cook took several items from Honresfeld to his meetings it is not evident that he took the EJB notebook. The only, slightly oblique, reference to it comes in a report of the meeting for 14 May 1926, soon after he had completed his transcription of the MS. At this meeting 'Mr. T.D. Cook gave an address on the liberties taken by Charlotte Brontë with the text of Emily's Poems.'[46] This is

---

[44] Cook, ed. (May 1926), The transcript in the BPM bears the inscription: 'No. ONE OF THREE COPIES TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT VOLUME IN THE HOLOGRAPH OF EMILY JANE BRONTË NOW, WITH MANY OTHER VALUABLE BRONTË MSS. IN THE COLLECTION OF A.J. LAW, Esq., HONRESFELD, Littleborough.'

[45] Minutes of the Barnsley Booklovers' Club (BBC), 11 September 1925, Barnsley Archive and Local Studies Department (BA), A/3598/G.

[46] Minutes BBC, 14 May 1926, BA.

fascinating, showing as it does that beyond Cook and Hatfield, the very first people to learn of Charlotte's editorial liberties with Emily's poems were the members of the Barnsley Booklovers' Club. Their indebtedness to Cook is evident from the report of their annual dinner in November 1926. It was decided that Cook should be named guest of honour at the dinner '[…] as a mark of the Club's appreciation of his contribution to literature',[47] and the President wrote a poem, which, while not great poetry, did at least illustrate the members' appreciation of Cook's contributions:

> Tonight the guest,
> By all conferred,
> We claim our own possession.
> Cook is his name,
> Scotland his hame.
> But Burns his great obsession.
>
> And yet of late,
> By some strange fate,
> In Yorkshire he has wandered,
> With spy-glass large
> And Critic's eye
> The Brontë Poets pondered.[48]

One of Cook's fellow founder-members of the club was a colleague, Edward Hare Wakefield, who was a Grocery Buyer for the Barnsley Co-operative Society.[49] Wakefield's wife Jessie joined the Club in 1920 and became active, giving a paper on 'Character Delineation' in March 1920, and becoming secretary in August of that year. In October 1922 the Minutes record that, 'A paper was read by Mrs. Wakefield entitled "Emily Brontë." Mrs Wakefield dealt with the story of Emily in a very able and thorough manner.'[50] And in September 1924 'The Secretary directed the attention of members to recently published work by Mrs. Wakefield and Mr. T.D. Cook'. [51] The nature of the work is not described, but it seems that Cook and Wakefield shared an interest in the Brontës and their work. Throughout the remainder of 1925, and until mid-1926 Cook made Brontë-related contributions to the meetings, showing MSS and reading transcriptions. On 9 January 1925:

[47] Minutes BBC, 8 October 1926, BA.
[48] H.E. Horne MA (President – Barnsley Booklovers' Club), 16 November 1926, BA.
[49] Edward Hare Wakefield, 1911 Census.
[50] Minutes BBC, October 1922, BA.
[51] Minutes BBC, 12 September 1924, BA.

> Mr. T.D. Cook brought to the notice of the meeting an article in 'The Millgate Monthly' written by Mrs Wakefield in which the vexed question of the Authorship of 'Wuthering Heights' was judicially discussed.[52]

But in March 1926 the minutes relate that Mr and Mrs Wakefield were leaving Barnsley to live at Sleights near Whitby, and they were presented with a copy of *The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë* as a leaving present.

The evidence that Jessie Hare Wakefield was the recipient of the third copy of the EJB transcript is contained in two letters which are among the Cook – Hatfield correspondence in the University of British Columbia. Fortuitously, Wakefield refers to the Barnsley Booklovers' Club in these letters, so it has been possible to trace both hers and Cook's membership through the minutes of the society.

In May 1926, Jessie Hare Wakefield replied from Sleights, to a letter that she had received from Cook. She praises him for the literary value of his discoveries and says that his last one is probably the most valuable of all. The content of the rest of the letter suggest that this discovery is of the changes that Charlotte made to Emily's poems, and Wakefield suggests that he write his next article for *The Nineteenth Century and After* rather than for *The Bookman*, which advice he takes. There is no direct mention of the EJB transcription in this letter, but the one following begins:

> I received the precious M.S. safely yesterday. Very many thanks for it. I feel honoured to be the possessor of one of three copies and am tremendously interested in the alterations, especially as they concern at least several of my prime favourites.[53]

The intelligence that Wakefield received the third transcript may not seem to be especially important, but an examination of the process of transcription, and the dialogue with Hatfield that followed it, shows that mistakes were made in the first transcript, and they may have been rectified in the final copy. I have also noted some omissions in the description of the notebook in the first transcript, and if an examination of the third transcript were possible, it might be enlightening; but with the caveat that the close dating of the dedication in Hatfield's copy, and the date on Jessie Wakefield's letter might not allow for very many changes. The knowledge that Wakefield received the third transcript is the first stage in discovering both its present whereabouts and any additional information that it might contain.

[52] Minutes BBC, 9 January 1925, BA.
[53] Jessie Hare Wakefield to Cook, 18 May 1926, UBC.

Cook's transcript is of 'foolscap' size and forms a typewritten book bound in brown paper. Most of the typescript is in black but red is sometimes used, apparently to make a distinction from the usual text of the notebook.[54] Where notes have been added to the holograph by the person or persons that Cook refers to as 'the penciller' these have been added to the transcript in pencil. The transcript which is in the BPM was presented to Hatfield by Cook in May 1926, and as with other books that have been in Hatfield's possession it contains his own marginal notes and comments.[55] In addition, there are occasional marginal notes by Cook himself, correcting his own mistakes and sometimes commenting on the processes and difficulties of transcription.[56]

As Hatfield suggested that he should, Cook begins his transcription by describing the physical appearance and size of the EJB notebook, including the changes that have been effected by binding. He also describes the annotations on the front flyleaf and its reverse, made by William Law at the time of his acquisition of the notebook. But there are two curious omissions. Curious, because in general Cook was painstaking and detailed in his copying. The first is that although he reproduces the dividing lines between the poems accurately, Cook does not add the <o>s that often accompany them, not even as a pencil addition. The second omission is striking because he had made the effort to add Law's annotation about the acquisition and value of the MS. In that annotation Law made the claim that 'This volume of M.S. Poems by Emily Brontë is the one mentioned by Charlotte in the Preface to "Wuthering Heights" (the one Vol. Edition).'[57] But Cook's omission concerns another annotation, also apparently made by Law. Ten years earlier, in 1916, H.A. Mince, writing a paper for the Rochdale Literary and Scientific Society had provided a detail that Cook omits. Mince describes a marginal mark <x> which had been added by William Law to denote the poems that remained unpublished in 1897 when he acquired the notebook.[58] Mince quotes a pencilled note by Law on one of the fly-leaves of the notebook which says: 'Those marked at side x have not been published, the others are in the "Selections" and in the "Poems," in all 31. Eight

[54] For example, Cook reproduces Charlotte's comment: 'Never was better stuff penned' beneath 'How beautiful the Earth is still' (EJB 30) in red ink, Cook, ed. (May 1926).
[55] These can be distinguished from Cook's annotations by Hatfield's accompanying signature, 'CWH'.
[56] There are also two marginal notes signed 'HMB'. This is likely to be Helen Brown, a co-author with Joan Mott, of *Gondal Poems*, published in 1938. Brown and Hatfield corresponded about Brontë texts and editing during the 1930s.
[57] William Law (1897), Cook, ed. (May 1926).
[58] This marginal <x> is just visible on the photographs and I add it to my appended transcription. It marks the eight poems that were not published in 1846 or 1850, but which appeared in the Dodd, Mead, edition of 1902, five years after William Law's acquisition of the EJB notebook.

unpublished. W.L.'[59] But Cook omits the <x>s and the pencilled note. His inclusions and omissions suggest that perhaps Cook's transcription was 'educated' and might have been supporting a specific point of view.

By 1926 Cook knew that in fact all the poems of the notebook had been published, and it may have been this knowledge that led him to omit Law's annotation and the relevant <x>s. This is unfortunate because it removes an important piece of information respecting both the notebook itself, and the publication history of the poems. It also raises the question of whether, if the notebook could be examined now, it might yield further details that have remained hidden. Mince gave the information about the <x>s and about Law's annotation to support his own argument concerning the publication history of the poems, and it is possible that there is further information on the holograph that has not yet come to light because it was not needed to support any scholarly arguments or theories that arose while the notebook was still available for scrutiny.

I think it likely that Cook included the annotation respecting the provenance of the notebook as the one found by Charlotte, because it supported his own and Hatfield's theory. On 15 April 1926 he wrote to Hatfield, 'Yes, I believe with you, this is the MS. volume found and used by Charlotte in printing Emily's Poems.'[60] The Law annotation quoted by Cook supports this theory and I suggest that Cook included it for that very reason. This does not detract from the extreme importance of Cook's work on the EJB notebook, but it does act as a reminder that although very valuable to scholarship, the transcript might not be entirely disinterested.

Cook retained all Emily's orthography and punctuation in his transcription, and he also reproduced the exact number of dividing lines between each poem. But a comparison of the transcript with the BPM photographs of the holograph shows that when he began transcription he did not apparently intend to reproduce the notebook page for page, including exactly the same amount of text on each page as did Emily. For the first eleven pages the beginning of a new page in the notebook is represented by the inclusion of the MS page number in parentheses and in red ink at the relevant point in the text, '(MS. 1)' '(MS. 2)' etc. This usually occurs approximately halfway down a page in the transcript. But from page twelve onwards the page layout corresponds exactly with that given by Emily Brontë, and at the foot of page twenty-three Cook notes:

[59] W. Law, Mince (1916), p.94.
[60] Cook to Hatfield, 15 April 1926, BPM.

> Up to this point the previous 24 poems including the four lines at the top of the page have been written in E.J.B.'s ~~ordinary~~[61] handwriting, but this Poem and the succeeding items are in the fine manuscript style. It looks as if she were afraid the book would not suffice to hold them all. D.C.[62]

It must be remembered that this was the first one of three transcripts completed by Cook, and it is likely that the succeeding copies followed Emily's layout from page one, as he apparently changed his mind about the layout during transcription. It is also possible, as mentioned, that succeeding transcripts carry other changes, but until they are found this cannot be verified.

Cook's transcript is notable in that he not only provides a transcription of the text of the poems, but he also attempts to decipher Emily Brontë's erasures, an exercise that he refers to as 'wrestling' both in his letters to Hatfield and in his annotations on the transcript itself. He notes at the foot of the page on which he has deciphered the original final verse of 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher':

> It is manifest in the MS. that this was the original final stanza of this poem. It has been cancelled – each word heavily scored out individually, and when I commenced to wrestle with it I never expected to decipher even half of it. The stanza above and below have been substituted some time after the next poem was transcribed, as is proved by the way they are crammed in. D.C. 2 May 1926.'[63]

The stanza was heavily erased by Emily and Cook's deciphering is a remarkable feat. It could be argued that an erased stanza holds little importance for the poems as they are read today. But, as I have noted in Chapter Three, Cook's transcription of the erased stanza provides an important piece of evidence concerning the title of this poem as it appears in the notebook, and in contrast to the title given in 1846.

The place of Cook's transcript in the textual transmission of the EJB poems is illustrated in Figure 5.1. From this it is evident that the transcript went on to directly inform the next two editions of the poems. But at least as importantly, it has left Brontë scholars with vital information about the structure of the EJB notebook in its continuing absence. It is this information that has now made a contextual reading of the poems possible. Cook's name appears in the acknowledgements of the two editions that followed the completion of his transcript, but the huge contribution that he has made to the reading of Emily Brontë's poems has not yet been truly acknowledged or celebrated.

---

[61] Cook has crossed out the word 'ordinary' and replaced it with a word that so far I have been unable to decipher.
[62] Cook, ed. (May 1926).
[63] Cook, ed. (May 1926).

The 1934 Edition and the Shakespeare Head Facsimile

Although both Cook and Hatfield were working hard during 1926 to achieve textual accuracy for the poems, it seems that at that time, for Hatfield at least, this was purely an intellectual exercise. On 28 April, two weeks before he received Cook's transcript, he wrote, 'There does not appear to be any probability that I shall ever prepare another volume of Emily's poems.'[64]

It appears that Hatfield's doubts about a future volume were based partly on his previous reliance on Clement Shorter to find a publisher, and partly on the inaccessibility of the Gondal notebook. Until that time the only editor to have been allowed access to the Gondal MS was A.C. Benson in 1915, and as I describe in Chapter Four, his use of the holograph had still not resulted in an accurate text. On 17 November Hatfield wrote that at last he was 'on the track of that missing Emily Brontë manuscript […]'.[65] Cook replied:

> I am glad you are hot on the track of the other Emily Brontë MS., and I hope by this time it is in your care. It will be very interesting if it furnishes further proofs of Charlotte's 'mangling' of Emily's verse. If so, don't you think you should write an article on the subject for the Nineteenth Century to supplement and complete the account given in mine? I do hope you can satisfy your qualms about the remainder of the Poems published by CB. in 1850, and thus pave the way for the much needed entirely NEW EDITION OF EMILY BRONTË'S POEMS.[66]

Cook's demand for a new edition of Emily's poems echoes that of Walter de la Mare in 1915, but it seemed that that the possibility of his wish being achieved was still unlikely. Although Hatfield now knew that the Gondal notebook was owned by the Smith family, he had been unable to persuade them to let him see it. He had told the owner that '[…] it is desirable in justice to the memory of Emily Brontë that her poems should be printed exactly as she left them'.[67] But this had no effect, and Hatfield suspected that the present owner was concerned that the use of the MS in the preparation of an edition of poems would decrease its monetary value. Following Shorter's death in November 1926 he said of his and Cook's hopes for a future edition:

> You will gather from the above that I have, for the present at least, relinquished the preparation of a new volume of Emily's poems. Later on,

[64] Hatfield to Cook, 28 April 1926, UBC.
[65] Hatfield to Cook, 17 November 1926, UBC.
[66] Cook to Hatfield, 21 November 1926, BPM.
[67] Hatfield to Cook, 6 December 1926, UBC.

> when I know how the Brontë copyrights stand now that Mr Shorter is dead, I think of endeavouring to enlist the services of Sir John Murray in getting the use of the poems MS. It may be that if the new volume was to be published by the firm of John Murray the manuscript would be obtainable. It is in the possession of the son of the late George B. Smith, the publisher of Charlotte Brontë's works, and John Murray now owns the business of Smith, Elder & Co. See?[68]

Hatfield was displaying great integrity in refusing to contemplate a new volume of Emily's poems because he did not have access to a MS that he suspected would bring to light further textual differences between Emily's and Charlotte's versions of the poems. But unfortunately, the next editors of the poems either had less integrity or were unaware of the existence of the Gondal notebook.

Between 1931 and 1936 T.J. Wise and J.A. Symington were working on a series of Brontë publications for Basil Blackwell's 'Shakespeare Head Press'. The series was called 'The Shakespeare Head Brontë' (SHB) and its aim was '[…] to achieve finality, for probably all the existing material of value has been brought together after many years of research by the editors.'[69] There were initially nineteen volumes[70] including novels, poetry, letters, and juvenilia, with print runs of between a thousand and five hundred copies.[71] Included in the series was a book combining the poetry of Emily and Anne, which had appended what were described as 'facsimile copies' of the EJB notebook and of a notebook of poems by Anne Brontë.[72] Both MSS were from the Law Collection at Honresfeld. [73]

T.J. Wise appears as first editor in the Shakespeare Head Brontë series but the initial plan was devised between Symington and Blackwell during 1931 and Wise was informed of it in a letter from Symington in March of that year.[74] According to Symington, Wise's contribution to the series was minimal and most of the editing

---

[68] Hatfield to Cook, 6 December 1926, UBC

[69] T.J. Wise and J.A. Symington, 'Prospectus for the Shakespeare Head Brontë' (1931).

[70] Symington had gathered material for a twentieth volume, a 'Bibliography' but it had not been published by the outbreak of war, and publication was not possible immediately afterwards. Symington left the galley proofs for the edition amongst his papers after his death in 1961 and these were acquired by Daphne du Maurier. When the book was finally published Basil Blackwell gave permission for the title *The Shakespeare Head Brontë Bibliography* to be used.
J. A. Symington, *Bibliography of the Works of all Members of the Brontë Family and of Brontëana*, The Shakespeare Head Brontë: The Bibliography (Delaware: Ian Hodgkins and Co., 2000).

[71] There were one thousand copies printed of each of the novels and of Branwell's poems, but only five hundred of the poems of Emily and Anne.

[72] As with the EJB notebook, the whereabouts of the Anne Brontë MS is not currently known to the public.

[73] Wise and Symington, ed. (1934).

[74] Smurthwaite (1995), pp.28 and 129, note 16, (letter in the University of Texas: 'Thomas James Wise Collection' MS–4564).

was carried out by Symington himself. In a letter to Daphne du Maurier in 1957 he said:

> T.J. Wise never put pen to paper during the editing. He was ill most of the time and in the fog and mist surrounding the exposure of his forgeries in other fields.[75]

By 1934, when the volume of Emily's and Anne's poems was produced, the reputations of both Wise and Symington had been damaged. Wise's forgeries were uncovered by John Carter and Graham Pollard in their investigation into the fraudulent nature of some nineteenth century pamphlets that year,[76] and Symington had left the Brontë Society to work permanently for Lord Brotherton following the disappearance of some items from the BPM collection. But apparently, the flawed reputations of the two editors did not impede their ability to gain the trust of Sir Alfred Law of Honresfeld. Certainly, in the case of Wise, it is likely that the disclosure of his fraudulent activities was late enough in the year for it not to influence Law's decision to co-operate with the production of the facsimile.

In the preface to the volume the editors acknowledge 'Sir Alfred Law for kindly allowing us to reproduce in this volume the two manuscripts of the poems of Emily and Anne Brontë in his possession'[77] and they state that the facsimiles included in the edition were 'reproduced by the Replica Process of Messrs Percy Lund Humphries and Co. Ltd.'[78]

The Leeds printing company, Percy Lund Humphries no longer exists, but their records are now in the West Yorkshire Archives.[79] The printers' archive consists, amongst other things, of sales ledgers which detail customer accounts and invoices, 'Day books' which describe the work carried out for these accounts, and 'Analysis' books, which break down the cost of production of work for customers.

The sales ledger for 1932-1937[80] shows three accounts which might have relevance to the reproduction of the Emily and Anne facsimiles. These are for Basil Blackwell, 'Shakespeare Head', and J.A. Symington. The Basil Blackwell account makes no reference to any Brontë works, and the account details for 'Shakespeare Head' are missing from the ledger. But the Symington account contains seven

---

[75] J.A Symington to Daphne du Maurier, 25 February 1957 (Daphne du Maurier Archive, University of Exeter, Special Collections).
[76] Carter and Pollard (1934).
[77] Wise and Symington, ed. (1934), p.xii.
[78] Ibid. p.xx.
[79] Percy Lund Humphries Archive, West Yorkshire Archive Service (WYAS) 56D94.
[80] WYAS, 56D94, 5/2.

transactions dated between February 1932 and October 1934, all paid in cash. Some of these match references made to Brontë material in the 'Day Book' for the same period.[81] It seems likely that the account was first entered as 'Shakespeare Head Press', but as Symington paid cash for all the transactions the account was recreated using his name. This would explain the missing 'Shakespeare Head' account. The analysis book for the same period[82] gives a 'breakdown of costs of production' dated April 1934 naming the customer as 'Shakespeare Head'.

The ledger for 1934 details invoices to Symington for £0.5.06 and £1.10.06 in February, and for £0.7.06 and £1.2.06 in July, but unfortunately not all these transactions are described in the day book because the only surviving volume for 1934 begins in July of that year. On 13 July 1934 the entry 'J.A. Symington, The Grove, Newlay, Horsforth' appears in the day book next to an item described as 'Insurance on "Patrick Branwell Brontë Manuscripts" £0.7.06'.[83] This amount matches the invoice from the ledger of the same date. The similarity in amount suggests to me that the invoice for £0.5.06 entered in February 1934 could also have been for an insurance premium, and may have referred to the EJB notebook and the Anne MS. However, without the missing day book this cannot be verified.

Certainly, the Emily and Anne facsimiles appear in the 1934 SHB, and the similarity in Percy Lund Humphries accounts of the payment invoiced in February 1934 with that charged in July of the same year for the Branwell Brontë MSS suggests that the two Honresfeld MSS, those of Emily and Anne, were temporarily removed from Law's keeping for photographing to create copies.[84]

Wise and Symington's removal of the MSS from Honresfeld for copying, and the subsequent disclosures of Wise's fraudulent activities and Symington's damaged reputation within the Brontë Society, may have further impeded Hatfield's capacity to produce his own edition of the poems during the 1930s.

In July 1934, five months after the payment of what I consider to be an insurance premium on the EJB notebook and the Anne MS, Cook wrote to Hatfield enclosing a note from Mr Bamford, Sir Alfred Law's secretary. Hatfield had apparently asked Cook to try to borrow the EJB notebook again, and Cook replied:

---

[81] Ibid., 5/5.
[82] Ibid., 5/23.
[83] The SHB published a volume of poems by Charlotte and Branwell without facsimiles in 1934, and: *The Miscellaneous and Unpublished Writings of Charlotte and Patrick Branwell Brontë* (in two volumes) with facsimile MSS in 1936.
[84] Hatfield's letter to Cook, dated 13 April 1926 and quoted on pp.6-7, indicates that MSS were photographed in order to produce a facsimile.

> I enclose the reply that Mr. Bamford sent to my request for the loan of the Emily Brontë MS. volume. From this one gathers that the volume might not be forthcoming; but on the other hand it might. I know the secretary will do his best. He is a most charming man and very friendly, but evidently Sir Alfred gets more uncertain […]. Please burn the secretary's note.[85]

The note is dated 22 July 1934 and says:

> Sir Alfred left for Scotland yesterday and he would not say if I could send the Emily Brontë M.S. to you for Mr. Hatfield's use. I cannot do so without his approval. I don't think he wants to be unkind, he just cannot make up his mind to say yes or no, & I find he gets worse as he gets older. He returns on Aug. 2nd & I will try again to get his permission. [….].[86]

In the letter in which Cook encloses this note he also says to Hatfield, 'I must get my transcript of the Emily volume back from Mr. Symington and then I shall be able to study the new edition [the 1934 SHB] with more understanding.'[87]

This three-way exchange raises some significant points. It becomes clear that Cook has lent his own transcript of the EJB notebook to Symington to help in editing, and that by July 1934, after publication of the volume, the transcript had not been returned. It is just possible that this same fate had occurred to the Emily and Anne MSS, but I think it unlikely. Bamford's response to Cook is quite forthright in his concerns about Sir Alfred's indecisiveness as he gets older, and I think that he would have been equally forthright if he had suspected that the MSS had not been returned to Honresfeld. In fact, as secretary, it had probably been his duty to receive them on return. It is, however, possible that the disclosures of Wise and Symington's activities had made Law realise that lending his precious MSS to apparently trustworthy editors, was more risky than he had previously thought and this might have influenced his willingness to lend them to Hatfield.[88]

---

[85] Cook to Hatfield, 31 July 1934, BPM. The continued existence of the note shows that Hatfield did not follow Cook's instruction. Mildred Christian, among whose papers the Hatfield papers are lodged in the BPM has pencilled on the note: 'Hatfield did not burn it. Hatfield did not. I have it.'

[86] Bamford to Cook, 22 July 1934, BPM.

[87] Cook to Hatfield, 31 July 1934, BPM.

[88] In 2008 Justine Picardie wrote a fictionalised account of the relationship between Daphne du Maurier and J.A. Symington based partly on du Maurier's period of researching for *The Infernal World of Branwell Brontë*. In the book Picardie intimates that Symington may have retained the EJB (or 'Honresfeld') notebook after the publication of the SHB and that the notebook suffered damp damage and its contents were destroyed. It is a worrying, although hugely enjoyable story. But it is a fictional account and care must be taken not to allow it to cloud a history for which some empirical evidence exists. Justine Picardie, *Daphne* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008).

The BPM Photographs and the Origin and Editing of the SHB Facsimile

The photographs from which I have made my own transcription of the EJB notebook are in the BPM among a selection of papers donated by the Archives department of Leeds Public Library in December 1970. They are described in the catalogue as a 'Collection of papers formerly in the possession of J.A. Symington.'[89]

The photographs, which are of separate pages of the notebook, are pasted centrally onto backing paper on which are various annotations, and which is folded to create a loose-leaf booklet ordering the pages as they appear in the EJB notebook as described in Cook's transcript. When the photos are examined within the context of their backing and the booklet that it forms, it is apparent that they very closely resemble the pages of the SHB facsimile. The annotations on the backing paper are evidently instructions to the printer. There are numbers written next to individual poems that refer to the contents list of the SHB, and the poem titles reproduced in that edition are hand-printed at the tops of the pages, sometimes with spaces noted. For example, '1 ½ ems' is inserted between 'THE OLD STOIC' and 'STANZAS' at the top of one page.

When I recognised the similarities between the presentation of the BPM photographs and the SHB facsimile, I realised that it was likely that a similar set of mounted photographs would exist of the Anne Brontë MS reproduced by Wise and Symington. A brief search at the BPM revealed a corresponding set in the same collection. The Anne photographs provide even more evidence of their connection to the facsimile. They too are mounted centrally on paper to create a booklet, and this one contains a title-page, which is missing from the Emily booklet. The hand-written title-page exactly replicates the title-page of the Anne Brontë section of the facsimile and carries additional instructions to the printer or typesetter: 'A MANUSCRIPT VOLUME OF POEMS BY ANNE BRONTË: In Facsimile' is accompanied by the instruction 'Polyphilus 16 pt.'. And next to 'The page numbers in the margin refer to the present edition' is written, 'Ital. Garamond 12 pt.'[90]

These booklets of photographs are evidently the photographs from which the SHB facsimile was reproduced by Percy Lund Humphries in 1934, and as such they play a vital part in the reconstruction of the history of the EJB poems. This alone is a fascinating discovery, but it also has crucial intellectual significance beyond the historical interest of how the facsimile was produced.

[89] BPM catalogue.
[90] Anne Brontë MS photographs, BPM.

The photographs are of incalculable importance because they are the only apparently complete currently accessible record of the EJB MS as Emily wrote it. But when they are examined within the historical context of their backing paper they gain even more significance. An examination of the photographs in their 'booklet' setting shows evidence of several instances of editing before printing. As these photographs were then used to create a facsimile which became the most widely accepted authority for the poems of the EJB notebook for much of the twentieth-century, this prior editing casts doubt, or at least uncertainty, on the criticism and editing for which they were used. Unknowingly, editors and critics have been using, as authoritative, a source which is apparently less accurate, or less complete in the information that it gives, than was assumed.

In Chapter Three I describe a series of marginal annotations present in the Gondal notebook, which I argue show evidence of a 'voting system' used by the three sisters in their choice of poems for the 1846 edition. The symbol that I consider to represent Emily's choices for inclusion in that edition is a small pencilled <o> inserted above certain poems.[91] These <o>s are clearly visible above seven of the poems on the BPM photographs, but only one, above EJB 3, 'How still, how happy! these are words' is clearly present on the SHB facsimile. An examination of the photographs on their backing paper shows a pencilled line leading from the <o> above EJB 7, 'In summer's mellow midnight' to a note on the backing paper saying '[…] out'.[92] This and all subsequent <o>s are omitted from the facsimile.[93]

This instance of editing does not affect Emily's text, but it does influence the scholarly examination of the poems. It removes a vital piece of evidence that might otherwise have resulted in an earlier recognition of collaboration between the sisters, and consequently of a different view of Emily as a willing participant in the production of the 1846 edition, a view which contributed to the general acceptance of the 'Emily Brontë lexicon' which I define in Chapter One.

There are, however, instances of editing that do affect Emily's text. In Chapter Three I examine Emily's own revisions to the poem 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher', and I propose that her changes to the final stanza influenced the title that she gave the poem in the 1846 edition. In that volume the poem is called 'The Philosopher', but as I explained, Emily never erased her original title from the notebook. That title, 'The Philosopher's conclusion' is visible on the photograph, although faint, and was noted by Davidson Cook and attributed by him to Emily.

---

[91] See Table 3.1.
[92] So far I have been unable to decipher the first word of this note.
[93] There is a very faint, partially obscured <o> remaining above EJB 24, 'On a sunny brae alone I lay'.

Figure 5.2 is an enlarged and enhanced image of the title on the BPM photograph, showing letter formation in Emily's hand. Figure 5.3 is a scanned image of the photograph of page twenty-four of the notebook pasted onto the backing paper and showing annotations for the printer. This can be compared to figure 5.4 which is the corresponding page of the SHB facsimile. It is evident from a comparison of these two photographs that the <o>s that are present on 5.3 are missing on 5.4, but there is also a textual revision apparent here. The title is faintly visible on the image of the photograph, but there is a pencilled line leading from the title to the backing paper where the word 'omit' has been written. The title has been omitted from the facsimile.

This omission is illuminating. It seems that although he apparently had Emily's holograph in his hand, Symington had more faith in the printed edition of 1846. He says of the text that he uses for the body of the SHB:

> […] as Emily Brontë herself corrected the proofs of her share in the book, it must be assumed that she made various corrections and alterations to the poems when they were in type. Therefore, in the present volume the 1846 printed text has been followed, and these poems placed first.[94]

This is justification for the text used for the poems. But unfortunately, in the case of the title of 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher', Symington seems to have adopted the same outlook in his treatment of the facsimile, which he apparently intended to be considered a faithful copy of Emily's holograph. The title that he gives, after omission of the original EJB title, is 'The Philosopher', which was the title that appeared in 1846. This alteration of the holograph text to fit a printed edition leads me to question why the facsimile was attached, and whether it was indeed intended to represent an accurate reproduction of the notebook. I must conclude that the facsimile was probably intended as a spectacle rather than as an informative appendix to the edition. Unfortunately, because the editors and critics of the following sixty years had no access to either the holograph or the photographs, and did not know of Symington's editorial practices, the facsimile was deemed to be authoritative.

There are two further titular revisions, which cannot be interpreted as an attempt to make the facsimile fit with the 1846 edition. EJB 24, 'On a sunny brae alone I lay' has the title 'A Day Dream' added in Emily's handwriting above both the decorative lines and the date at the top of the page. This is the title that is also given

[94] Wise and Symington, ed. (1934), p.ix.

to the poem in 1846, and yet Symington has given the instruction to omit it. The title does not appear as part of the facsimile, but it is printed at the head of the page in the SHB. It seems likely that in this case it was omitted because to include it would have had an adverse effect on the layout because Emily had added it very close to the top of the notebook page. This has also occurred with the title 'Plead for Me' which was written high on the page above 'O thy bright eyes must answer now' (EJB 26).[95] In comparison to these 'The Philosopher's conclusion' is not written at the top of a page and its inclusion in the facsimile would not have affected the layout. It seems that the omission of that title was based on an intellectual rather than a practical judgement. Symington was apparently not generally opposed to the inclusion of the titles that Emily had added after completion of the poems, as long as they also appeared in the 1846 edition and did not affect layout. 'The night wind' is retained, as is 'Hope', 'My Comforter', and 'To Imagination'.

Probably the most striking example of editing of the photographs affects pages twenty-eight and twenty-nine, containing EJB 30, 'How beautiful the Earth is still', and EJB 31, 'No coward soul is mine'. The top left-hand corner of the photograph of EJB 31 was cut off before the photo was pasted onto the backing paper, and a triangular section has been cut out above EJB 30. Fortunately, 'No coward soul is mine' is one of the few EJB poems to have been reproduced in more than one photograph. It was printed 'in facsimile' by Clement Shorter in *The Woman at Home in 1897*, and it is also one of the three photographs that Cook sent to Hatfield in 1926.[96] Both the photograph in *The Woman at Home* and the one amongst the Hatfield papers in the BPM show the page as it was before the section was cut out and it is apparent that what Symington wished to exclude from his facsimile was a short phrase that had been written in the top left-hand corner of the page, and then obliterated in ink. The section that has been cut out above 'How beautiful the Earth is still' corresponds to the part of the page against which the ink from the top of page twenty-nine would have blotted.[97] There is no other existing photograph of page twenty-eight apart from the one with the cut-out section.

After he had received Cook's three photographs Hatfield wrote saying that he could not 'make any attempt to read what appears to have been meant for a title in the manuscript.'[98] But by referring to the erasure as a 'title' Hatfield is not

[95] In this instance Symington has changed the capitalisation of the title, giving 'Plead for Me' rather than Emily's 'Plead for me'.
[96] Hatfield to Cook, 6 August 1934, BPM.
[97] This also happened on pages eighteen and nineteen on the notebook, where the title 'My Comforter' has blotted onto the following page (see appended transcription).
[98] Hatfield to Cook, 4 May 1926, UBC.

considering Emily's usual behaviour with regard to titles in the notebook. Titles all appear centrally, with dates appearing on the right. Headings do appear on the extreme left of pages in the Gondal notebook, but these refer to the character who is speaking through the poem, and this practice is never used in the EJB notebook.

The erasure is on the extreme left, and the only other heading on the far left is the 'E.J.B.' of the first page. Taking this into consideration, the position of the erasure on the top left of the final page is potentially significant, although the significance cannot be determined unless the obliterated words could be read. Unfortunately, the photographs that show the erasure were taken between 1897 and 1926, and even contemporary digital technology cannot retrieve information lost because of the more primitive photographic techniques in use at the time. Enlarging digital images of these photographs just leads to increased pixilation. The sections are cut from the photographs from which the facsimile was made, so it is most probable that the erasure still exists on the holograph, and perhaps multi-spectral imaging of the notebook would help to determine what has been erased.[99]

The erasure seems to contain either two or three words, but they are all crossed out together with no spaces left between individual words. Cook, who was working with the holograph, tried to decipher them in his transcription. He thought that the first word was 'My', but he was unable to work out the rest of the phrase.

In my view, apart from the position of the erasure, the most telling aspect is the way that it has been obliterated. Throughout the notebook, in all but one instance, where more than one consecutive word has been scored out it has been done individually, with spaces left between erased words. Even the entire cancelled final stanza of 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher' has been crossed out word by word. The exception is 'The evening passes fast away' in which a whole line is cancelled by drawing a single line through the words – but no attempt has been made at obliteration. The evidence suggests to me that the left-hand heading above 'No coward soul is mine' could have been erased by someone other than Emily, someone who did not apply her practice of cancellation, and who wanted to ensure that the phrase was completely obscured.

Because the erasure and its mirror-image have been cut from the BPM photographs there is no suggestion on the SHB facsimile of anything having been written in the top left corner of the notebook above 'No coward soul is mine'. And

[99] Multi-spectral imaging is a non-invasive technique which captures the data from an image at specified wave frequencies, thereby enabling an analysis of different layers of the image. This technique has been used by The National Archives to extract and record information from Shakespeare's will, http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/4YGG7k013n4bhlpFjqFy2dX/what-will-s-will-tells-us-about-shakespeare The process would not damage the holograph.

because the facsimile remained the 'MS' authority for much of the twentieth-century there has been no opportunity for scholars to engage in what could have been a valuable and constructive dialogue, both about Emily's description of the closing page of the notebook, and also about the possibility that Charlotte might have indulged in more revising and editing than is currently known.

There is a further example of editing on the facsimile, also occurring in 'No coward soul is mine' and noted by Cook in 1934 soon after publication of the SHB. The sixth stanza of the poem in the notebook reads:

> Though Earth and moon were gone
> And suns and universes ceased to be
> And Thou wert left alone
> Every Exsistance would exsist in Thee[100]

Writing to Hatfield soon after the publication of the 1934 edition Cook draws attention to an anomaly concerning the final line of this stanza in the facsimile. The word 'Exsistance' is clear in the photograph[101] but on the facsimile it has been over-written, resulting in 'Exis.tance', although the word 'exsist' has not been changed later in the line. Cook also notes that the word 'Thou' in the final line of the poem has been altered to read 'thou' in the facsimile.[102] He suggests to Hatfield that the photographic plate must have been 'touched up' to produce these anomalies. But an examination of the BPM photographs from which the facsimile was made shows that this cannot have been the case. The photographs retain the original text, so it seems that the changes must have been made by the printer or typesetter at the stage at which the facsimile was created from the photographs. That this process was used is important for future knowledge of the notebook because if the photographs had been 'touched up' this would have detracted from the information that could be gained from them in the absence of the holograph. It is seemingly a reversal of the procedure used for omissions of titles and <o>s, as those remain on the original photographs although they are omitted from the facsimile. It is at this stage of the enquiry that the information given on the backing paper provides evidence of the process of editing.

One of the facsimile changes to this poem noted by Cook has created continuing confusion amongst twentieth-century editors, and this is only apparent through a scrutiny of published editions. In his 1934 letter to Hatfield, Cook, who by

[100] Emily Brontë, 'No coward soul is mine', 2 January 1846.
[101] This refers to the photograph in *The Woman at Home* which Cook was using as his reference when writing to Hatfield.
[102] Cook to Hatfield, 31 July 1934, BPM.

this time was practised in deciphering Emily Brontë's handwriting, gives a detailed account of his view of the discrepancy between upper and lower case <t>s in the 'thou's of the final two lines of the poem. It must be remembered that when he made these observations he had both the 1934 facsimile and the 1897 photograph before him:

> The word Thou in the penultimate line can be debated. The t has the bottom joining of a small letter; but the top stroke of a capital. I hold that Emily wrote a small t and instantly instead of crossing it like most of the other small t's converted it to a capital letter by a definite top bar exactly like the other capital T's in the poem, and entirely unlike the cross strokes of her many small t's. Exactly the same thing has happened with the Thou in the last line. The photograph (I think you have one too) distinctly shows a capital stroke across the top of the letter, but in some mysterious fashion the facsimile quite as distinctly reveals a small t with the stroke very definitely well down the trunk of the letter. The plate must have been touched up.[103]

In fact, Emily made the same changes that Cook describes as applying to the final stanza, to 'Thou' and 'Thee' in the penultimate one as well. Having examined the photographs I agree with Cook and have used capital <T>s in my own transcription of these words. But curiously, Hatfield, who had his own copy of the photograph to which Cook referred, still used lower case <t>s in all these words when he reproduced the poem in his 1941 edition. When he replied to the letter in which Cook explained his reasoning he commented on the changes to 'Exsistance' but did not mention the <t>s.

In her 1992 edition Barbara Lloyd-Evans cites the SHB facsimile as her MS source for the EJB poems,[104] and, as in the facsimile, she gives a capital <T> in the penultimate line of the final stanza, and a lower-case <t> in the final line. Janet Gezari, who produced a complete volume in the same year, refers to the SHB facsimile, but says that she also takes Hatfield as an authority for the EJB poems that had not been published in 1846.[105] She uses lower-case <t>s for all these words, as did he.

The BPM photographs were given to the museum by the Leeds Public Library in 1970. But knowledge of their existence remained undisclosed until Roper, who edited the most recent volume of Emily's poems, saw and used them in the preparation of his 1995 edition. [106] Neither Lloyd-Evans nor Gezari had the opportunity to examine the BPM photographs before they produced their volumes,

---

[103] Cook to Hatfield, 31 July 1934, BPM.
[104] Lloyd-Evans, ed. (1992), p.7.
[105] Gezari, ed. (1992).
[106] Roper, ed. (1995), p.14.

so their reference point for the EJB poems was a combination of the SHB facsimile and Hatfield, who, it must be remembered, had never seen the holograph. But although Roper used the BPM photographs, surprisingly his transcription of the final stanza of 'No coward soul is mine' is the version reproduced in the SHB facsimile.

The changes to the capitalisation or otherwise of these letters does affect the meaning and emphasis of these lines. In her 1850 revisions Charlotte Brontë wrote the lines as:

> Thou – THOU art Being and Breath,
> And what THOU art may never be destroyed.[107]

This extreme emphasis is reminiscent of Shirley-as-Emily and the essay written by Shirley Keeldar detailing the ecstatic religious communion between 'Genius and Humanity' which describes two separate entities coming together.[108] It is an accentuation of the 'Emily Brontë lexicon'. In contrast, the single capitals given by Emily emphasise the importance of the internal personal deity, the animating spirit that she shares with every other existence. She is worshipping, but not a separate being, this is not a 'vain […] creed'. She is claiming that animating spirit as part of her own soul. Her words in this stanza are a development of the deification of her own imagination which she introduced in EJB 26 where she said:

> And am I wrong, to worship where
> Faith cannot doubt, nor Hope dispair,
> Since my own soul can grant my prayer?[109]

To reduce those clear capitals to lower-case would be to lessen the importance of that assertion. But it seems that Janet Gezari, who had, as I said, not seen the photographs, and perhaps trusted Hatfield above the SHB facsimile (which only reduced one capital to a lower case <t>) suspected that Charlotte had introduced *all* the capitals to emphasise a religious message.[110] This probably explains her preference for Hatfield's version above that of the SHB facsimile.

The facsimile might not have been intended by Symington to represent a completely accurate copy of the EJB notebook, but circumstances dictated that it became the only available representation, and the MS authority for the poems, for sixty years. This has meant that vital information has slipped out of sight, affecting

---

[107] C. Brontë, ed. (1850).
[108] C. Brontë (1979), p.489.
[109] Emily Brontë, 'O, thy bright eyes must answer now,' 14 October 1844.
[110] Gezari, ed. (1992), p.280.

both an understanding of Emily as a writer and thinker, and the reading of the poems themselves. Clues to an understanding of her participation in the selection of poems for 1846 have been lost, thereby strengthening the persisting 'lexicon' view. The omission of the title 'The Philosopher's conclusion' has decreased the possibility of a recognition of her developing philosophy and has removed evidence for my view that the differences between the notebook and the 1846 versions of the poems show that the notebook still retains its own integrity and should stand alone as a piece of work separate from the 1846 edition. Textual accuracy has been sacrificed leading to editorial confusion and a continued distancing from the definitive edition of the poems demanded by de la Mare in 1915, and Cook in 1926. And finally, the potential has been removed for a consideration of both a final heading on the last page of the notebook, and the possibility that Charlotte had made a further attempt at editing her sister in order to affect public perception. But despite all these drawbacks, the facsimile did at least help to retain the concept of a 'notebook' of poems in the minds of readers. And because of the reproduction, those poems continued to be available within their contextual setting, albeit somewhat modified. But most editors continued to disregard that setting.

Hatfield's 1941 Edition

Hatfield had been collaborating with Davidson Cook about the text of the EJB poems and other Brontë MSS during the 1920s and 1930s, but he did not produce his own edition of Emily's poems until 1941. In 1926 he had written to Cook detailing the problems that he was having in being allowed access to the Gondal notebook and said that for the time being he had 'relinquished the preparation of a new volume of Emily's poems.'[111] There is no textual evidence for Wise and Symington having had any knowledge of the Gondal notebook when they prepared the SHB, although Wise had made an unsuccessful attempt to buy it in the 1907 Nicholls sale. The disregard for the Gondal MS apparent in the SHB text supports Symington's report that Wise had very little involvement in the editing of the edition, as he must surely have known of its existence, even if he had little knowledge of its content. The notebook was donated to the British Museum in 1933 by Alexander Murray Smith[112] and would have been available for examination by Symington, had he made the attempt. But the fact that he relied on Charlotte's 1850 revised versions of the

[111] Hatfield to Cook, 6 December 1926, UBC.
[112] BL Add. MS. 43483.

Gondal poems indicates that he did not do this. Neither did he refer to the MS, or its owners, in his acknowledgements.

Hatfield's patience and integrity in waiting until he was sure of the text of the Gondal poems was finally rewarded, and his book *The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë* was published by Columbia University Press in 1941. In his introduction he details his sources for the various MSS, some of which were photographs provided by H.H. Bonnell, William Howe, and Fannie Ratchford.[113] He admits to having to resort to the text of Shorter's 1910 edition for the poems which he classifies as 'J' and which are now in the Taylor Collection of Princeton University Library.[114] But he does not make it clear that he never saw the EJB MS, or rather, he omits to say that he did see it. The evidence from correspondence, and from the Hatfield papers now in the BPM, indicates that his information sources for the EJB notebook were: Cook's transcript, his three photographs, and his *Nineteenth Century and After* article; the SHB facsimile, Mince's facsimile of 'Fair sinks the summer evening now',[115] and Wise's 1895 transcript. But although he includes Davidson Cook in his list of acknowledgements, credits him with the rediscovery of the EJB notebook in his introduction, and refers to his *Nineteenth Century* article, there is no reference to the transcript that Cook made for Hatfield, nor to the decade-long correspondence which furnished Hatfield with so much of his information. As I said, Hatfield asked Cook penetrating and insightful questions, but without the answers that Cook gave, and the observations that he made, Hatfield would not have been able to reproduce as near accurate a replication of the EJB poems as he did, particularly without ever having seen the MS. One example of Cook's tacit help evident in Hatfield's book comes in 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher'. At the end of this poem Hatfield has written: '"The Philosopher's conclusion" has been added in pencil, apparently by the author, at the head of the poem in the manuscript.'[116] My disclosure of the editing of the SHB facsimile shows that Hatfield could not have seen the original title there, and it does not appear in 1846. This poem was not among those photographed by Cook for Hatfield, so the only source that Hatfield had for the information that he gives here was Cook's transcript, and yet he does not reference it. Perhaps Hatfield suspected that if he referred to Cook's transcript it would become apparent that he did not have first-hand knowledge of the holograph and that that would detract from the intellectual

[113] Hatfield, ed. (1941), p.10.
[114] Hatfield classifies MS sources as: Honresfeld (EJB) – A; Gondal – B; Ashley – C; Bonnell – D; Howe – E; Texas – F. (Ibid., pp.24-25).
[115] Mince (1916).
[116] Hatfield, ed. (1941), p.221.

value of his book, particularly as it is described as 'Edited from the Manuscripts by C.W. Hatfield' on the title-page. But it is an unfortunate omission, and one which has led to the incidental suppression of information about an important source of knowledge about the EJB notebook since that time.[117]

Hatfield does to some extent display the 'scholarly conscientiousness' appealed for by de Selincourt in 1924, but it is less apparent in the book than it was throughout his long correspondence with Cook. There was substantial underlying scholarship in the preparation for the volume, but it is not always evident in the text.

In her review of the book for *The Brontë Society Transactions* Fannie Ratchford says:

> Here at last, almost a century after her death, a correct text of Emily Brontë's poems is given to the world, vouched for by the first editor to make critical use of every known line of her manuscript […][118]

But in truth, Hatfield's text, while unquestionably a remarkable work of scholarship, is less accurate than Ratchford suggests. The substantive text, the transcription of Emily's words, is accurate when compared to the photographs of the EJB notebook.[119] But the punctuation given by Hatfield often differs from the original. In a letter to Cook written in June 1926, Hatfield mentions his disappointment in learning that a line from 'A little while, a little while', which in 1923 he had believed to read: 'Where winter howls and drives the rain' appears in the EJB notebook as 'Where winter howls and driving rain'. He said:

> I have been under the impression that Charlotte had incorrectly deciphered the MS, but I was wrong, and now that the manuscript has been found the line will have to be printed in future, as it was written.[120]

He felt that the line that he had printed in 1923 conveyed Emily's meaning more accurately, but his need for textual accuracy meant that in his view he had to sacrifice meaning for authenticity. But strangely, he did not apply this belief in the importance of accurate transcription to his reproduction of Emily's punctuation.

---

[117] Cook's transcript continued in obscurity until it was found by Edward Chitham during his research at the BPM. This discovery, which is reported by Derek Roper in a postscript to his 1984 article, is undated.

[118] Fannie E. Ratchford, 'Correct Text of Emily Brontë's Poems: Mr. C.W. Hatfield's Fastidious Scholarship', *BST*, Vol. 10, 1942, Issue 3, pp.107-109 (p.107).

[119] I use the term 'substantive' here as does W.W. Greg in 'The Rationale of Copy-Text' (1950-51), to mean the significant readings that affect meaning. Greg differentiates between this substantive text and what he terms 'accidentals', which include spelling and punctuation.

[120] Hatfield to Cook, 15 June 1926, UBC.

EJB 1, 'Loud without the wind was roaring' provides an example of the difference that Hatfield's punctuation can make to the reading of a poem. This poem was not among the photographs that Cook sent to him, but Hatfield had his transcript, Wise's transcript, and the version given by Charlotte in 1850. Of these, Cook's transcript retains Emily's punctuation, but I have not yet been able to determine the details of the content of Wise's transcript. Although, if that 1895 transcript reproduced Emily's punctuation faithfully Hatfield must have disregarded it when he produced the 1923 edition for Shorter because in that book he reproduced Charlotte's 1850 version.

An examination of the first four stanzas given in the 1941 volume shows ten differences in punctuation from the notebook as transcribed by Cook. Some, but not all of these changes appeared in 1850, but a direct comparison is not possible because of the changes that Charlotte made to the text in that edition.

In these stanzas Hatfield changes most of Emily's <->s to commas or semi-colons, but at the end of the third line of the second stanza he inserts a <-> where Emily has left the end of the line unpunctuated. The change that makes one of the biggest differences to a reading of the poem occurs at the end of the second stanza. Here, Hatfield reproduces the full stop given by Charlotte before beginning the section which is in inverted commas. Emily wrote:

> Wild words of an ancient song –
> Undefined, without a name –
>
> "It was spring for the skylark was singing."
> Those words they awakened a spell - [121]

But in 1941 Hatfield writes:

> Wild words of an ancient song,
> Undefined, without a name.
>
> "It was spring, for the skylark was singing."
> Those words, they awakened a spell - [122]

The full stop at the end of the second line shown here was first inserted by Charlotte in 1850 and it effectively separates two sections which Emily had left connected by a <->. The quoted line is no longer explicitly the words of the ancient song described in the previous stanza.

[121] E. Brontë, 'Loud without the wind was roaring', 11 November 1838.
[122] Hatfield, ed. (1941), p.90.

There is a thought-provoking change in the first line of the second stanza. The BPM photograph clearly shows a capital <T> at the beginning of the second word, 'All Too like that dreary eve | Sighed within repining greif -'. Like Charlotte in 1850, Hatfield changes this to 'All too like that dreary eve | Sighed within repining grief;', even though Cook's transcript shows the capital <T>. The change to <t> was, as mentioned, also adopted by Janet Gezari and Barbara Lloyd-Evans in their 1992 editions, although they both had access to the SHB facsimile which shows the capital <T>. Derek Roper in 1995 was the first editor to re-introduce Emily's capital <T>.

In my view, the two different versions can result in different readings. 'All too like that dreary eve' suggests a situation that is too much like the dreary eve in question. But 'All Too like that dreary eve' indicates an emphasis on 'Too' and changes the meaning of 'All'. When read together with the following line this suggests a gathering, all of whom were sighing and grief stricken, in sympathy with the storm outside. This makes more sense when it is followed by the gradual discernment of the words of the 'ancient song'.

Why did Hatfield make these changes to the punctuation? He evidently adopted Charlotte's where he could, but where Charlotte had changed the text so that the punctuation did not fit with Emily's words, he created his own rather than using Emily's. In the poems that had been printed in 1846 he is faithful to neither the printed nor the MS version, but he gives a combination of the two. For example, his version of EJB 22, 'My Comforter' is neither entirely like that in the EJB notebook, nor that printed in 1846. Punctuation does make a difference to the reading of the poems. They are poems that give the impression of having been composed partly aloud. Emily's spelling is phonetic – the words are written as they are spoken, and the musicality of the poems is enhanced by a fluidity which owes its existence to both pronunciation and minimal punctuation. Charlotte's and Hatfield's punctuation breaks this, and if, in their view, it makes the poems more grammatically correct, it has the effect of making them less Emily's peculiar voice.

Chronology

Hatfield was not the first editor to impose a chronology on the presentation of Emily's poems, but he was the first to stress its importance. Chronological presentation first appeared in Dodd, Mead's ordering of the poems from the Nicholls Huntington transcript, and this was repeated for the same poems by Shorter in 1910. Shorter's chronological ordering was probably not intentional as he did not adopt the system for his 'Unpublished Poems' section of the same book. It seems

most likely that he copied Dodd, Mead's edition uncritically, and therefore adopted an accidental chronology for those previously printed poems. Benson's 1815 edition orders the dated poems that he selected for inclusion chronologically, but it was not until 1923 that Hatfield made his chronological presentation explicit. In that edition he included a section headed 'Dated Manuscripts Arranged in Chronological Order',[123] and when he edited his 1941 edition he said with reference to the 1923 edition:

> The chronological arrangement of the poems with known dates, then attempted for the first time, was appreciated by many readers; and I have, therefore, in the present volume, attempted to arrange *all* of the poems in chronological order.[124]

Although most of Emily's poems are dated, not all are. Hatfield's attempt at an entirely chronological approach meant that he included all the poems that appeared on the MS fragments on which one poem was dated, as all having been written on that date. It also meant that he had to use conjecture in some circumstances, and the benefit of this is questionable. But in terms of the importance of the EJB notebook as a discrete piece of work tracing a philosophical development, and showing evidence of Emily's representation of *a priori* intuition, a chronological presentation is disastrous. The intellectual importance of the EJB notebook is evident through its non-chronological presentation and through the positions of the poems within the context of the notebook. It was not until Cook's rediscovery of the notebook in 1926 that it became possible for the importance of that context to be recognised, and although, with Cook's help, Hatfield restored much of the text to its original state, his imposition of a rigid chronology made a recognition of the sequential importance of the poems impossible. This is a situation that has continued to the present day and from which editors and scholars must escape if a genuine reading of the EJB poems is to be achieved.

The Modern Editions

If not a definitive edition of the nature required by de la Mare and Cook, Hatfield's volume certainly defined the presentation of Emily's poetry until the present day. It would have been illuminating to have been able to read Cook's response to the new edition, and perhaps further correspondence between Cook and Hatfield following

[123] Hatfield, Shorter, ed. (1923), p.ix.
[124] Hatfield, ed. (1941), p.8.

publication. But unfortunately that is not possible. Both men died very soon after the book was published – Cook in December 1941, and Hatfield in the following July.[125]

The editions that followed Hatfield's in the twentieth century were: Philip Henderson in 1951, Janet Gezari and Barbara Lloyd-Evans, both in 1992; and Derek Roper in 1995. There has been no other complete edition since that date.

Henderson's is a 'Folio Society' edition which, while claiming to present Emily's poems 'exactly as she wrote them'[126] relies so heavily on Hatfield that it brings nothing new to an examination of the poems.

Barbara Lloyd-Evans describes her book as containing 'the poems Emily Brontë herself chose to keep',[127] and to this end she reproduces those poems that were transcribed into notebooks: the 'Ashley', the EJB, and the Gondal, but does not include any of the MS fragments. This is the only edition that gives the EJB poems in the order in which they appear in the notebook. But as Lloyd-Evans' main source was the SHB facsimile she, of necessity, omits everything that Symington had edited out, as well as including the changes that he made to the text on reproduction.

Together with Hatfield's 1941 volume, Janet Gezari's 1992 edition is another book that has made an important contribution to knowledge of Emily's poems.[128] Her appendices provide a valuable reference for the order of poems in both the Gondal and EJB notebooks, and also for the text of Charlotte's 1850 revisions. In addition, she includes a detailed analysis of the punctuation of the poems together with a justification for her own editorial approach and a fascinating examination of her perception of Emily Brontë's practice in punctuation. Gezari's own punctuation is almost entirely faithful to the MSS, but just occasionally, as for example in the final stanza of 'I do not weep, I would not weep;', she shares Hatfield's rather than Emily's punctuation.

The drawback of this edition for a contextual reading of the EJB poems is illustrated in Figure 5.1. In company with many previous editions Gezari prints the 1846 poems first, and only in the form in which they appear in that volume. She then presents all dated poems in chronological order, although she does not include the date of composition in the body of the text.[129] This means that in this edition the EJB

[125] Hatfield's obituary was printed in the same edition of the *BST* that carried Fannie Ratchford's review of his 1941 volume, and Cook's obituary appeared in the *TLS* of 27 December 1941.
[126] Henderson, ed. (1951).
[127] Lloyd-Evans, ed. (1992), p.7.
[128] Gezari, ed. (1992).
[129] Composition dates are given in the notes at the end of the book, together with the date of first publication.

poems retain the distance from the notebook context that has been an enduring part of their textual history, and that has stood in the way of a recognition and understanding of what I have described as Emily's intellectual purpose in her creation of the notebook. Although this is not the most recent edition of Emily's poems it is the one most readily available to the reading public. Roper's 1995 edition is published by the Oxford University Press 'Clarendon Press' and is usually sold at approximately £150. It is more likely to be found in a University library than in a bookshop. In contrast, Gezari's 1992 volume is available in paperback for less than £10. This then, is the edition that will influence more readers, and will therefore perpetuate the distancing of the EJB poems from their notebook context.

The Most Recent Edition

Derek Roper's 1995 edition differs from Janet Gezari's in more respects than its public availability. His text is only divided into two sections, comprising dated and undated poems and fragments. The 1846 poems are not separated from the rest of Emily's canon, but are included in the chronological ordering.[130]

In his justification for the text used in the volume Roper explains that except for 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning' for which no MS exists, 'the base text used for every poem and fragment is a holograph'.[131] But this concept of the 'base text' is complex. In the case of the poems that were published in 1846 he explains that he has collated the holographs with the 1846 text to give a reading that is as close to the poems written by Emily as is possible. He has also collated poems from the Gondal and EJB notebooks with versions written previously in either 'Ashley' or on MS fragments. But these second collations have a different effect on the text than do those that involve 1846. In fact, they make little or no difference textually, because in these cases Roper takes the final version (Gondal or EJB) as Emily's final authorial intention and so the differences in the previous versions are just referred to in the notes.

It is the collations that involve the 1846 edition that make the most significant difference to the text of the poems. In his detailed examination of Emily's revisions, written in 1984, Roper concludes that the textual differences between 1846 and the EJB and Gondal notebooks comprise her final revisions and that 'the best course in general for an editor of these twenty-one poems appears to be to take his verbal readings from the printed texts.'[132] When he came to edit his 1995 volume he still

[130] Apart from EJB 15 and 16 which are undated and are therefore included in the undated section.
[131] Roper, ed. (1995), p.26.
[132] Roper (1984), p.167.

held this belief, and although the text, orthography, layout and punctuation of the poems that do not appear in 1846 is reproduced as Emily presented it in her notebooks, the poems that were published in 1846 are presented as a collation.

Roper uses Hatfield's designation of the EJB notebook <A>, and in the notes beneath each poem he describes his textual collation. For example, beneath EJB 30, 'How beautiful the Earth is still' he has written: 'Text from A30, with substantive revisions of 1846'.[133] Where his revisions are substantive, in effect they take the text from 1846 and he fits this into the holograph framework. It seems that the intention is to create a poem that retains the shape, orthography, and punctuation of the holograph, but is textually true to 1846, because in Roper's view, the 1846 revisions were Emily's final ones indicating that they resulted in the poems that she wished to keep.

In Chapter Three I argue for maintaining the integrity of the two versions and allowing both 1846 and the EJB notebook to stand alone for the different purposes for which I contend they were created. In my view, the poems as edited for 1846 were revised and presented to fulfil the requirements of publication as part of a collected edition, and to conform to Emily's view of what would have been expected by the readers of the day. In contrast, the poems of the EJB and Gondal MSS contain less revision in their notebook settings and were intended to remain faithful to the purpose for which they were originally created. The publication of a collation of the 1846 and the notebook poems means that neither version retains its integrity and what is left is a version that is completely true to neither. It blurs Emily's authorial intention in both settings and presents hybrid poems that she did not actually write.

A scrutiny of the BPM photographs shows one textual anomaly that has apparently gone unnoticed through the history of the EJB poems. One which Roper, with his access to the photographs might have been expected to rectify. This is not a matter of misreading punctuation – it is a small textual difference that has the potential to change the meaning, or at least the message, of a poem. In 1850 Charlotte printed a heavily revised version of EJB 9, 'Aye there it is! It wakes tonight'. She printed the second stanza as:

> 'Now I can tell by thine altered cheek,
> And by thine eyes' full gaze,
> And by the words thou scarce dost speak,
> How wildly fancy plays.[134]

[133] Roper, ed. (1995), p.173.
[134] C. Brontë, ed. (1850).

In contrast to Emily's original:

> And I can tell by thine altered cheek
> And by thy kindled gaze
> And by the word thou scarece dost speak,
> How wildly fancy plays-[135]

Most of the textual differences in this stanza were corrected following Cook's rediscovery of the notebook in 1925, and these corrections appeared in the subsequent editions. But one revision that has never been rectified, and in my view has the potential to affect the message of the poem, is Charlotte's substitution of 'words' for 'word' in the third line. The difference is in the implied importance of the singular 'word' that the subject hardly speaks, in contrast to 'words' which suggests the inability to utter any language at all. This is another example of the capacity for the inaccuracies that have occurred in the transmission of the poems and the notebook to affect the potential for scholarly debate. What was that 'word'? And what was its importance to the place of the poem within the EJB sequence?

I have said that Roper, with his access to the BPM photographs, had the opportunity to rectify Charlotte's revision and the consequent mis-transcription by subsequent editors. But Roper also transcribes the line as 'And by the words thou scearce[136] dost speak,'[137] Yet I contend that Emily has clearly written 'word' rather than 'words'. An examination of her other <ds> combinations within the notebook shows that the <d> and the <s> are always written separately. The tail of her <d> does vary in length and curvature, but there are several examples within the same poem of <d>s formed identically to the one at the end of 'word'.

Although it is over twenty years since it was published, Roper's is the most recent edition of Emily's poetry. But it has still not fulfilled the repeated appeal for a definitive volume of her poems. Like Hatfield's and Gezari's editions it brings crucial scholarly material and discourse to the field of Emily Brontë scholarship, and the discovery of the BPM photographs is to be celebrated. But today's readers are still left distanced from, and ignorant of, Emily's poetical and philosophical achievements through her EJB notebook. The edition presents a collated text in a chronological order, a combination which masks any purpose that could be revealed by reading the text of the EJB notebook in the sequence in which it was created.

---

[135] E. Brontë, 6 July 1841.
[136] Roper and I disagree on the transcription of this word.
[137] Roper, ed. (1995), p.122.

Conclusion

Emily Brontë began transcription of her EJB notebook in February 1844 and completed it in January 1846. But over one hundred and seventy years later, no editor of a complete edition of her poems has yet printed the poems with exactly her text, and in the sequence in which she transcribed them. This thesis reiterates the importance of a contextual presentation of the poems and has presented evidence to support Walter de la Mare's call in 1915, and that of Davidson Cook in 1926, for a new and definitive edition of her poetry. This new edition of her poems is long overdue. It should be both textually accurate and should present the EJB poems as they were sequenced in the holograph. This will enable a recognition of the ideas and purpose behind the construction of the notebook and will make possible an appreciation of Emily Brontë's status as a philosopher-poet.

The picture that Charlotte Brontë painted of her sister was of a visionary, unconducive to the influence of other intellects or of education, whose main inspiration was the wild northern moorland landscapes among which she lived. I propose that Charlotte's portrayal of Emily, presented through her preface and editing of the 1850 edition of *Wuthering Heights*, her creation of 'Shirley-as-Emily', and the biographical and personality details that Gaskell gave of Emily in her *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, combine to create a 'lexicon' through which Emily's life, and her work are often still interpreted. This 'lexicon' impedes a recognition of the powerful intellectual artistry that I see evident in Emily Brontë's writing.

I demand an end to the 'Emily Brontë lexicon', and the establishment of a new vocabulary through which to decode Emily's work. The vocabulary that I propose has evolved through my examination of her creation initially of the EJB notebook, and subsequently of *Wuthering Heights*.

Chapter Two describes my assertion that Emily's non-chronological presentation of the poems of the notebook reveals an idiosyncratic engagement with the contemporary ideas that stemmed from the literature and philosophies of early nineteenth century Europe. I propose that she could have encountered the post-Kantian Idealist philosophies of Schiller and Friedrich Schlegel, both through her ten months at school in Brussels, and through her reading of *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* magazines. I contend that her structure of her EJB notebook represents her own interpretation of the Kantian notion of *a priori* understanding which she had first met with in the poems of Schiller, of which there is a copy in the BPM. Her exposition is personalised to show *a priori* knowledge of an imaginative power within her. It is followed by a series of poems that further develop her exploration of the power of

thought and the imagination both to transcend human understanding of space and time, and to overcome, and to rise above and beyond, the misery of the real world. This leads in time, to the deification of the imagination. The capacity to synthesise the warring factions of good and evil, and of mortal time and eternity, is within the imaginative power of the poet's own soul.

In composing and constructing her philosophical poetry notebook Emily has not merely reproduced a philosophy that she encountered. She has created her own thought-system in response to ideas that she read, and possibly heard, and she has created her own 'future poems *a priori*'[138] The reader who has the opportunity to study the poems as she presented them may then approach *Wuthering Heights* furnished with an understanding of this philosophy, which I propose she further developed and manipulated to create what I have called her 'imaginative myth of the soul'.

The new 'Emily Brontë vocabulary' which I assert should replace Charlotte's 'lexicon', must describe Emily as a philosopher – an abstract thinker who was able to take ideas and combine them with her own prior knowledge and intuition, to create her own thought-system. And beyond that, to use her intellectual system artistically, in both poems and in novel form.

But unfortunately, as I have described, readers do not yet have that opportunity. My post-genetic examination of the EJB poems has followed the distancing of the poems, both textually, and sequentially, from their notebook setting. It has shown that textually her poems are still not an accurate reproduction of the original EJB poems. But far more importantly, their ongoing chronological presentation continues to mask her ideas and intentions. Emily Brontë the philosopher-poet is still unknown to her readers. She will continue to be so until her EJB notebook is presented as she created and sequenced it.

[138] Ibid.

[This page is intentionally blank]

Appendix A: Transcript of the EJB Notebook

Transcription Principles:

This transcript of the EJB notebook is based on the photographs of the notebook that are now in the Brontë Parsonage Museum. In the 'Contents' section each poem is allocated an 'EJB number'. These numbers relate to the place of the poems within the sequence of the notebook and are referred to within the body of the thesis.

In the transcript I replicate Emily Brontë's orthography, grammar, punctuation, and presentation. Recto and Verso are indicated by <r> and <v> in the top right-hand corner of each page. Where there are ambiguities of reading I record the possibilities in a note. I do not include revisions which I argue in the text are not in Emily's hand. Where her script becomes significantly smaller I have reduced the text size. The layout and sequence of all pages are the same as the pages of the notebook except for the two pages following 'How beautiful the Earth is still' (EJB 30). This poem is entirely on one page in the holograph but I have used a second page for clarity, and have therefore inserted a blank page in order to retain the original recto – verso layout of the notebook.

EJB. Transcribed Febuary 1844. <r>

November 11th 1838.

Loud without the wind was roaring
Through the waned autumnal sky,
Drenching wet, the cold rain pouring
Spoke of stormy winters nigh.

All Too like that dreary eve
Sighed within repining greif -
Sighed at first – but sighed not long
Sweet – How softly sweet it came!
Wild words of an ancient song -
Undefined, without a name -

“It was spring, for the skylark was singing.”
Those words they awakened a spell -
They unlocked a deep fountain whose springing
Nor Absence nor Distance can quell.

In the gloom of a cloudy November
They uttered the music of May -
They kindled the perishing ember
Into fervour that could not decay

Awaken on all my dear moorlands
The wind in its glory and pride!
O call me from valleys and highlands
To walk by the hill-rivers side!

It is swelled with the first snowy weather;
The rocks they are icy and hoar
And darker waves round the long heather
And the firn-leaves are sunny no more

There are no yellow-stars on the mountain
The blue-bells have long died away
From the brink of the moss-bedded fountain,
From the side of the wintery brae -

But lovlier than cornfields all waving
In emerald and scarlet and gold
Are the slopes where the north-wind is raving
And the glens where I wandered of old -

“It was morning, the bright sun was beaming-” <v>
How sweetly that brought back to me
The time when nor labour nor dreaming
Broke the sleep of the happy and free

But blithely we rose as the dusk heaven
Was melting to amber and blue.
And swift were the wings to our feet given
While we traversed the meadows of dew.

For the moors, for the moors where the short grass
Like velvet beneath us should lie!
For the moors, for the moors where each high pass
Rose sunny against the clear sky!

For the moors, where the linnet was trilling
Its song on the old granite stone -
Where the lark – the wild sky-lark was filling
Every breast with delight like its own.

What language can utter the feeling
That rose when, in exile afar,
On the brow of a lonely hill kneeling
I saw the brown heath growing there:

It was scattered and stunted, and told me
That soon even that would be gone
It wispered; “The grim walls enfold me
“I have bloomed in my last summer’s sun” -

But not the loved music whose waking
Makes the soul of the swiss die away
Has a spell - more adored and heart-breaking
Than in its half-blighted bells lay -

The spirit that bent ’neath its power
How it longed, how it burned to be free!
If I could have wept in that hour
Those tears had been heaven to me -

Well, well the sad minutes are moving
Though loaded with trouble and pain -
And sometime the loved and the loving
Shall meet on the mountains again -

December 4th 1838. <r>

A little while, a little while
The noisy crowd are barred away;
And I can sing and I can smile -
A little while I've holyday!

Where wilt thou go my harassed heart?
Full many a land invites thee now;
And places near, and far apart
Have rest for thee, my weary brow -

There is a spot mid barren hills
Where winter howls and driving rain
But if the dreary tempest chills
There is a light that warms again

The house is old, the trees are bare
And moonless bends the misty dome
But what on earth is half so dear -
So longed for as the hearth of home?

The mute bird sitting on the stone,
The dank moss dripping from the wall,
The garden-walk with weeds o'e'r-grown
I love them – how I love them all!

Shall I go there? or shall I seek
Another clime, another sky.
Where tongues familiar music speak
In accents dear to memory?

Yes, as I mused, the naked room,
The flickering firelight died away
And from the midst of cheerless gloom
I passed to bright, unclouded day -

A little and a lone green lane
That opened on a common wide
A distant, dreamy, dim blue chain
Of mountains circling every side -

A heaven so clear, an earth so calm, <v>
So sweet, so soft, so hushed an air
And, deepening still the dreamlike charm,
Wild moor sheep feeding everywhere -

That was the scene – I knew it well
I knew the pathways far and near
That winding o'er each billowy swell
Marked out the tracks of wandering deer

Could I have lingered but an hour
It well had paid a week of toil
But truth has banished fancy's power
I hear my dungeon bars recoil -

Even as I stood with raptured eye
Absorbed in bliss so deep and dear
My hour of rest had fleeted by
And given me back to weary care -

o December 7th 1838.
x[1]

How still, how happy! those are words
That once would scearce agree together
I loved the plashing of the surge -
The changing heaven the breezy weather

More than smoother seas and cloudless skies
And solemn, soothing, softened airs
That in the forest woke no sighs
And from the green spray shook no tears

How still, how happy! now I feel
Where silence dwells is sweeter far
Than laughing mirths most joyous swell
However pure its raptures are

Come sit down on this sunny stone
'Tis wintery light o'er flowerless moors -
But sit – for we are all alone
And clear expand heaven's breathless shores

[1] <x> added by William Law to poems that remained unpublished when he acquired the notebook in 1897.

I could think in the withered grass <r>
Spring's budding wreaths we might discern
The violet's eye might shyly flash
And young leaves shoot among the firn

It is but thought – full many a night
The snow shall clothe those hills afar
And Storms shall add a drearier blight
And winds shall wage a wilder war

Before the lark may herald in
Fresh foliage twined with blossems fair
And summer days again begin
Their glory-haloed crown to wear

Yet my heart loves December's smile
As much as July's golden beam
Then let us sit and whach the while
The blue ice curdling on the stream -

December 18th 1838.

The blue bell is the sweetest flower
That waves in summer air
Its blossoms have the mightiest power
To soothe my spirit's care

There is a spelle in purple heath
Too wildly, sadly drear
The violet has a fragrant breath
But fragrance will not cheer

The trees are bare, the sun is cold
And seldom, seldom seen -
The leaves have lost their zone of gold
The earth its robe of green

And ice upon the glancing stream
Has cast its sombre shade
And distant hills and valleys seem
In frozen mist arrayed -

The blue bell cannot charm me now
The heath has lost its bloom
The violets in the glen below
They yeild no sweet perfume

But though I mourn the heather-bell
'Tis better far, away
I know how fast my tears would swell
To see it smile to day

And that wood flower that hides so shy <v>
Beneath its[2] mossy stone
Its balmy scent and dewy eye
'Tis not for them I moan

It is the slight and stately stem
The blossem's silvery blue
The buds hid like a sapphire gem
In sheathes of emerald hue

'Tis these that breathe upon my heart
A calm and softening spell
That if it makes the tear-drop start
Has power to soothe as well

For these I weep, so long devided
Through winter's dreary day
In longing weep – but most when guided
On withered banks to stray

If chilly then the light should fall
Adown the dreary sky
And gild the dank and darkened wall
With transient brilliency

How do I yearn, how do I pine
For the time of flowers to come
And turn me from that fading shine
To mourn the fields of home -

August 30th 1839

x[3]

Fair sinks the summer evening now
In softened glory round my home;
The sky upon its holy brow
Wears not a cloud that speaks of gloom -

The old tower, shrined in golden light,
Looks down on the descending sun -
So gently evening blends with night
You scearce can say that day is done -

And this is just the joyous hour
When we were wont to burst away,
To 'scape from labours tyrant power
And cheerfully go out to play -

Then why is all so sad and lone?
No merry foot-step on the stair -
No laugh – no heart-awaking tone
But voiceless silence everywhere –

[2] 'its' has been written over 'the'. The firmness of the <s> suggests that 'its' was the later addition.
[3] See note 1.

I've wandered round our garden-ground <r>
And still it seemed at every turn
That I should greet approaching feet
And words upon the breezes borne

In vain – they will not come today
And morning's beam will rise as drear
Then tell me – are they gone for aye
Our sun blinks through the mists of care?[4]

Ah no, reproving Hope[5] doth say
Departed joys 'tis fond to mourn
When every storm that hides their ray
Prepares a more divine return-

2 May 16th1841

Shall Earth no more inspire thee,
Thou lonely dreamer now?
Since passion may not fire thee
Shall Nature cease to bow?

Thy mind is ever moving
In regions dark to thee;
Recall its useless roving -
Come back and dwell with me-

I know my mountain breezes
Enchant and soothe thee still -
I know my sunshine pleases
Despite thy wayward will -

When day with evening blending
Sinks from the summer sky,
I've seen thy spirit bending
In fond idolatry -

I've whached thee every hour.
I know my mighty sway -
I know my magic power
To drive thy greifs away -

Few hearts to mortals given
On earth so wildly pine
Yet none would ask Heaven
More like the Earth than thine -

Then let my winds caress thee -
Thy comrade let me be -
Since nought beside can bless thee
Return and dwell with me –

[4] There are faint lines crossing out stanzas 5 and 6. This is not Emily's usual style of cancelling lines in the EJB notebook. She uses it in the 'Ashley' MS and it also occurs in some of Charlotte Brontë's poetry MSS.
[5] 'Hope' was originally written with a lower case <h> and was later changed to <H>.

The night wind <v>

1 September 11th 1840

o

In summer's mellow midnight
A cloudless moon shone through
Our open parlour window
And rose trees wet with dew -

I sat in silent musing -
The soft wind waved my hair
It told me Heaven was glorious
And sleeping Earth was fair -

I needed not its breathing
To bring such thoughts to me
But still it wispered lowly
"How dark the woods will be! -

"The thick leaves in my murmer
"Are rustling like a dream,
"And all their myriad voices
"Instinct with spirit seem"

I said, "go gentle singer,
"Thy wooing voice is kind
"But do not think its music
"Has power to reach my mind-

"play with the scented flower,
"The young tree's supple bough -
"And leave my human feelings
"In their own course to flow"

The Wanderer would not leave me
Its Kiss grew warmer still -
"O come," it sighed so sweetly
"I'll win thee 'gainst thy will -

"Have we not been from childhood friends?
"Have I not loved thee long?
"As long as thou hast loved the night
"Whose silence wakes my song?

"And when thy heart is ~~laid at rest~~ [resting] <r>
"Beneath the church-yard stone
"I shall have time ~~enough to~~ [for] mourn[ing]
"And thou t~~[f]~~o[r] be[ing] alone"- [6]

March 1st 1841-
Possible?[7]

Riches I hold in light esteem
And Love I laugh to scorn
And Lust of Fame was but a dream
That vanished with the morn -

And if I pray – the only prayer
That moves my lips for me
Is – "Leave the heart that now I bear
"And give me liberty" -

Yes - as my swift days near their goal
'Tis all that I implore -
Through Life and death, a chainless soul
With courage to endure! -

July 6th 1841

Aye there it is! It wakes to night
Sweet thoughts that will not die
And feeling's fires flash all as bright
As in the years gone by!-

And I can tell by thine altered cheek
And by thy kindled gaze
And by the word thou scarece dost speak,
How wildly fancy plays -

Yes I could swear that glorious wind
Has swept the world aside
Has dashed its memory from thy mind
Like foam-bells from the tide -

And thou art now a spirit pouring
Thy presence into all -
The essence of the Tempest's roaring
And of the Tempest's fall –

[6] Revisions to this stanza are most likely to be in Emily's hand. I have replicated her deletions and added what I recognise as her revisions in brackets.
[7] This word is written faintly in cursive script and is only visible when the image is enhanced. It is possible that an attempt has been made to erase it.

A universal influence <v>
From Thine own influence free –
A principle of life intense
Lost to mortality –

Thus truely when that breast is cold
Thy prisoned soul shall rise
The Dungeon mingle with the mould –
The captive with the skies –

May 4th 1840
[…][8]

I'll not weep that thou art going to leave me
There's nothing lovely here,
And doubly will the dark world greive me
While thy heart suffers there –

I'll not weep - because the summer's glory
Must always end in gloom
And follow out the happiest story,
It closes with a tomb –

And I am weary of the anguish
Increasing winters bear –
I'm sick to see the spirit languish
Through years of dead dispair -

So if a tear when thou art dying
Should haply fall from me
It is but that my soul is sighing
To go and rest with thee –

o May 18 1840 –
x[9]

If greif for greif can touch thee,
If answering woe for woe,
If any ruth can melt thee
Come to me now!

I cannot be more lonley,
More drear I cannot be!
My worn heart throbs so wildly
'Twill break for thee –

[8] There is a faint illegible word written in normal size cursive script here. It possibly begins with <P>.
[9] See note 1.

And when the world despises – <r>
When Heaven repells my prayer.
Will not mine angel comfort?
Mine idol hear?

Yes by the tears I've poured,
By all my hours of pain
O I shall surely win thee
Beloved, again!

November 5th 1838
O[10] x[11]

O Dream, where art thou now?
Long years have past away
Since last, from off thine angel brow
I saw the light decay –

Alas, alas for me
Thou wert so bright and fair,
I could not think thy memory
Would yeild me nought but care!

The sun-beam and the storm,
The summer-eve divine,
The silent night of solemn calm,
The full moons cloudless shine

Were once entwined with thee
But now, with weary pain –
Lost vision! 'Tis enough for me –
Thou canst not shine again –

April 1840
x[12]

It is too late to call thee now –
I will not nurse that dream again
For every joy that lit my brow
Would bring its after storm of pain –

[10] Faint <O> which could be one of ABN's marginal marks.
[11] See note 1.
[12] See note 1.

Besides the mist is half withdrawn, <v>
The barren mountain-side lies bare
And sunshine and awaking morn
Paint no more golden visions there –

yet ever in my grateful breast
Thy darling shade shall cherished be
For God alone doth know how blest
My early years have been in thee!

October 29th 1839
x[13]

The wind I hear it sighing
With Autumn's saddest sounds
Withered leaves as thick are lying
As spring-flowers on the ground –

This dark night has won me
To wander far away –
Old feelings gather fast upon me
Like vultures round their prey –

Kind where they once, and cherished
But cold and cheerless now –
I would their lingering shades had perished
When their light left my brow

'Tis like old age pretending
The softness of a child,
My altered hardened spirit bending
To meet their fancies wild

Yet could I with past pleasures,
past woe's oblivion buy –
That by the death of my dearest treasures
My deadliest pains might die.

O then another daybreak
Might haply dawn above –
Another summer gild my cheek,
My Soul, another love -

[13] See note 1.

[…][14] <r>

o

Love is like the wild rose briar,
Friendship, like the holly tree
The holly is dark when the rose briar blooms,
But which will bloom most constantly?

The wild rose briar is sweet in spring,
Its summer blossoms scent the air
yet wait till winter comes again
And who will call the wild-briar fair

Then scorn the silly rose-wreath now
And deck thee with the holly's sheen
That when December blights thy brow
He still may leave thy garland green –

There should be no dispair for you
While nightly stars are burning –
While evening sheds its silent dew
Or sunshine gilds the morning –

There should be no dispair though tears
May flow down like a river –
Are not the best beloved of years
Around your heart forever-?

They weep – you weep – It must be so –
Winds sigh as you are sighing,
And winter pours its greif in snow
Where Autumns leaves are lying

Yet they revive – and from their fate
Your fate can not be parted
Then journy onward not elate
But never brokenhearted -

[14] Faint, almost illegible, possibly erased, writing. The first word may be 'Love'. Cook (1926) transcribes it as 'Love and Friendship' and attributes to Emily Brontë.

[…][15] <v>

November 14th 1839

“Well, some may hate and some may scorn
“And some may quite forget thy name
“But my sad heart must ever mourn
“Thy ruined hopes, thy blighted fame”-

’Twas thus I thought an hour ago
Even weeping o’er that wretche’s woe –
One word turned back my gushing tears
And lit my altered eye with sneers –

“Then bless the friendly dust” I said –
“That hides thy unlamented head
“Vain as thou wert, and weak as vain
“The slave of falsehood, pride and pain –
“My heart has nought akin to thine –
“Thy soul is powerless over mine”

But these were thoughts that vanished too
Unwise, unholy and untrue –
Do I despise the timid deer
Be cause his limbs are fleet with fear?
Or would I mock the wolf’s death-howl
Be cause his form is guant and foul?
Or hear with joy the leverets cry
Because it cannot bravely die?

No – then above his memory
Let pity’s heart as tender be
Say “Earth, lie lightly on that breast,
“And kind Heaven, grant that spirit rest!

March 1840

x[16]

Far, far away is mirth withdrawn;
’Tis three long hours before the morn
And I whach lonely, drearily -
So come thou shade commune with me

Deserted one! thy corpse lies cold
And mingled with a forign mould –
Year after year the grass grows green
Above the dust where thou hast been.

[15] Illegible erasures here.
[16] See note 1.

I will not name thy blighted name <r>
Tarnished by unforgotten shame
Though not because my bosom torn
Joins the mad world in all its scorn –

Thy phantom face is dark with woe
Tears have left ghastly traces there,
Those ceasless tears! I wish their flow
Could quench thy wild dispair-

They deluge my heart like the rain
On cursed Gommorah's howling plain –
Yet when I hear thy foes deride
I must cling closely to thy side –

Our mutual foes – they will not rest
From trampling on thy buried breast –
Glutting their hatred with the doom
They picture thine – beyond the tomb –

But God is not like human kind
Man cannot read the Almighty mind
Vengeance will never torture thee
Nor hunt thy soul eternaly -

Then do not in this night of greif
This time of overwhelming fear
O do not think that God can leave
Forget, forsake, refuse to hear! –

What have I dreamt? He lies asleep
With whom my heart would vainly weep
He rests – and I endure the woe
That left his spirit long ago –

July 17th 1841
x[17]

I see around me [~~piteous~~][18] tombstones grey
Stretching their shadows far away.
Beneath the turf my footsteps tread
Lie low and lone the silent dead –
Beneath the turf, beneath the mould –
Forever dark, forever cold –
And my eyes cannot hold the tears
That memory hoards from vanished years
For Time and Death and Mortal pain
Give wounds that will not heal again –
Let me remember half the woe
I've seen and heard and felt below
And Heaven itself, so pure and blest
Could never give my spirit rest -

[17] See note 1.
[18] Or '~~pillars~~'. Cook (1926) has '~~pillars~~'.

Sweet land of light! thy children fair <v>
Know nought akin to our dispair-
Nor have they felt, nor can they tell
What tenants haunt each mortal cell
What gloomy guests we hold within –
Torments and madness, tears and sin!
Well – may they live in extacy
Their long eternity of joy;
At least we would not bring them down
With us to weep, with us to groan,
No – Earth would wish no other sphere
To taste her cup of sufferings drear;
She turns from Heaven a careless eye
And only mourns that we must die!
Ah mother, what shall comfort thee
In all this boundless misery?
To cheer our eager eyes a while
We see thee smile, How fondly smile!
But who reads not through that tender glow
Thy deep, unutterable woe?
Indeed no dazziling land above
Can cheat thee of thy children's love –
We all in life's departing shine
Our last dear longings blend with thine;
And struggle still, and strive to trace
With clouded gaze thy darling face
We would not leave our native home
For any world beyond the Tomb
No – rather on thy kindly breast
Let us be laid in lasting rest
Or waken but to share with thee
A mutual immortality –

October 23rd – 42 – Febuary 6th 1843

The evening passes fast away,
Tis almost time to rest –
What thoughts has left the vanished day?
What feelings – in thy breast?

"The vanished day? it leaves a sense
"Of labour hardly done –
"Of little gained with vast expense –
"- A sense of greif alone -"

"Time stands before the door of Death
"Upbraiding bitterly
"And Conscience with exhaustless breath
"pours black reproach on me -

"And though I ~~think~~[say19] that Conscience lies <r>
"And Time should Fate condemn
"Still weak Repentance clouds my eyes
"And makes me yeild to them -"

Then art thou glad to seek repose?
-Art glad to leave the sea?
And anchor all thy weary woes
In calm Eternity?

Nothing regrets to see thee go –
Not one voice sobs "farewell"
And where thy heart has suffered so
Canst thou desire to dwell?

"Alas! The countless links are strong
"That bind us to our clay;
"The loving spirit lingers long
"And would not pass away –

"And rest is sweet, when laureled fame
"Will crown the soldiers crest:
"But a brave heart with a tarnished name
"Would rather fight, than rest".

Well thou hast fought for many a year
-Hast fought thy whole life through –
-Hast humbled Falsehood – trampled Fear –
What is there left to do?

"'Tis true – this arm has hotly striven
"Has dared what few would dare
"Much have I done and freely given –
"Yet little learnt to bear"-

Look on the grave where thou must sleep
Thy last and strongest foe –
'Twill be endurance not to weep
If that repose be woe

The long fight closing in defeat.
Defeat serenely borne –
Doubt not[20]
Thine eventide may still be sweet –
Thy night, a glorious morn -

[19] I have included this revision because it is faint and may not have been visible to earlier editors. Hatfield and Lloyd-Evans do not note it, although Cook, who saw the holograph, does.
[20] 'Doubt not' has been inserted here, but nothing has been crossed out.

December 18th 1843 <v>

Hope[21]

Hope was but a timid Friend –
She sat without the grated den
Whaching how my fate would tend
Even as selfish-hearted men –

She was cruel in her fear.
Through the bars, one dreary day,
I looked out to see her there
And she turned her face away!

Like a false guard false whach keeping
Still in strife she wispered, peace
She would sing while I was weeping,
If I listened, she would cease –

False she was, and unrelenting,
When my last joys strewed the ground
Even Sorrow saw repenting
Those sad relics scattered round –

Hope – whose wisper would have given
Balm to all that frenzied pain –
Stretched her wings and soared to heaven –
Went - and ne'er returned again!

1.[22] Febuary 10th 1844.

My Comforter
o[23]

Well hast thou spoken – and yet not taught
A feeling strange or new –
Thou hast but roused a latent thought,
A cloud-closed beam of sunshine brought
To gleam in open view –

Deep down – concealed within my soul
That light lies hid from men.
yet glows unquenched – though shadows roll,
Its gentle ray can not control,
-About the sullen den -

[21] The size of the letters used in the title suggests that an <o> might have been incorporated into 'Hope'.
[22] Very small numeral.
[23] Faint.

Was I not vexed, in these gloomy ways <r>
To walk unlit so long?
Around me, wretches uttering praise
Or howling o'er their hopless days –
And each with Frenzy's tongue –

A Brotherhood of misery,
Their smiles as sad as sighs –
Whose madness daily maddened[24] me,
Distorting into agony
The Bliss before my eyes –

So stood I – in Heavens glorious sun
And in the glare of Hell
My spirit drank a mingled tone
Of seraph's song and demon's moan.[25]
-What my soul bore, my soul alone
Within its self may tell –

Like a soft air above a sea
Tossed by the tempest's stir –
A thaw-wind melting quietly
The snowdrift on some wintery lea
- No – what sweet thing can match with thee,
My thoughtful Comforter?

And yet a little longer speak
Calm this resentful mood
And while the savage heart grows meek,
For other token do not seek,
But let the tear upon my cheek
Evince my gratitude –

[…][26]

April 13th 1843 –

How clear she shines! How quietly
I lie beneath her silver[gardian] light
While Heaven and Earth are wispering me,
"tomorrow wake – but dream to night" –

Yes – Fancy, come, my fairy love!
These throbbing temples, softly kiss.
And bend my lonely couch above
And bring me rest, and bring me bliss –

[24] Or 'maddening'. It is unclear which was the original and which the revision.
[25] 'moan' is written over 'groan'.
[26] Blot from title on previous page.

The world is going – Dark world adieu! <v>
Grim world, go hide thee till the day;
The heart thou canst not all subdue
Must still resist if thou delay –

Thy love, I will not – will not share
Thy hatred only wakes a smile
Thy greifs may wound – thy wrongs may tear
But oh, thy lies shall ne'er beguile,

While gazing on the stars that glow
Above me in that stormless sea
I long to hope[27] that all the woe
Creation knows, is held in thee! –
.
And this shall be my dream tonight –
I'll think the heaven of glorious spheres
Is rolling on its course of light
In endless bliss, through endless years –

I'll think, there's not one world above,
Far as these straining eyes can see,
Where Wisdom ever laughed at Love –
Or Virtue crouched to Infamy –

Where – writheing 'neath the strokes of Fate
The mangled wretch is forced to smile,
To match his patience 'gainst her hate,
His heart rebellious all the while.

Where Pleasure still will lead to wrong
And helpless Reason warn in vain
And Truth is weak, and Treachery strong
And Joy the surest path to pain –

And Peace the lethargy of greif -
And Hope a phantom of the Soul –
And Life a labour void and breif -
And Death the despot of the while[28]

[27] 'hope' has been written over 'think'.
[28] 'while' has probably been written in mistake for 'whole'.

A Day Dream <r>

March 5th 1844

o

On a sunny brae alone I lay
One summer afternoon;
It was the marriage-time of May
With her young lover, June.

From her Mothers heart seemed loathe to part
That queen of bridal charms,
But her father smiled on the fairest child
He ever held in his arms

The Trees did wave their plumy crests,
The glad birds caroled clear
And I, of all the wedding guests,
Was only sullen there –

There was not one but wished to shun
My aspect – void of cheer
The very grey roaks looking on
Asked, “what do you do here?”

And I could utter no reply
In sooth I did not know
Why I had brought a clouded eye
To greet the general glow,

So resting on a heathy bank
I took my heart to me
And we together sadly sank
Into a reverie

We thought “When winter comes again
Where will these bright things be?
All vanished like a vision vain –
An unreal mockery!

The birds that now so blithely sing –
Through deserts frozen dry,
poor spectres of the perished Spring
In famished troops will fly

And why should we be glad at all? <v>
The leaf is hardly green
Before a token of the fall
Is on its surface seen -”

Now whether it were really so
I never could be sure –
But as in fit of peevish woe
I stretched me on the moor

A thousand thousand glancing fires
Seemed kindling in the air –
A thousand thousand silvery lyres
Resounded far and near

Methought the very breath I breathed
Was full of sparks devine
And all my heather couch was wreathed
By that celestial shine –

And while the wide Earth echoeing rang
To their strange minstrelsy
The little glittering spirits sang
Or seemed to sing to me –

“O mortal, mortal, let them die –
“Let Time and Tears destroy
“That we may over flow the sky
“With universal joy –

“Let Greif distract the sufferer’s brest
“And Night obscure his way
“They hasten him to endless rest
“And everlasting day

“To Thee the world is like a tomb -
“A desert’s naked shore
“To us in unimagined bloom
“It brightens more and more.

“And could we lift the veil and give
“One breif glimpse to thine eye
“Thou wouldst rejoice for those that live
“Because they live to die”-

The music ceased – the noon day Dream <r>
Like dream of night with drew
But Fancy still will sometimes deem
Her fond creation true –

To Imagination September 3rd 1844 –
o

[29]When weary with the long day's care
And earthly change from pain to pain
And lost and ready to dispair
Thy kind voice calls me back again –
O my true friend, I am not lone
While thou canst speak with such a tone!

So hopeless is the world without
The world within I doubly prize
Thy world, where guile and hate and doubt
And cold suspicion never rise –
Where thou and I and Liberty
Have undisputed soveriegnty.

What matters it that all around
Danger and greif and darkness lie
If but within our bosom's bound
We hold a bright unsullied sky
Warm with ten thousand mingled rays
Of suns that know no winter days –

Reason indeed may oft complain
For Nature's sad reality
And tell the suffering heart how vain
Its cherished dreams must always be
And Truth may rudely trample down
The flowers of fancy newly blown

But thou art ever there to bring
The hovering visions back and breathe
New glories o'er the blighted Spring
And call a lovlier life from death
And whisper with a voice divine
Of real worlds as bright as thine

I trust not to thy phantom bliss
Yet still, in evening's quiet hour
With Never failing thankfulness
I welcome thee benignant power
Sure Solacer of human cares
And brighter hope when hope dispairs -

---

[29] The handwriting becomes significantly smaller from this point in the notebook.

Plead for me[30] <v>

o October 14th 1844

O, thy bright eyes must answer now,
When Reason, with a scornful brow,
Is mocking at my overthrow;
O, thy sweet tongue must plead for me
And tell why I have chosen thee!

Stern Reason is to judgement come
Arrayed in all her forms of gloom;
Wilt thou my advocate be dumb?
No radiant angel, speak and say
Why I did cast the world away:

Why I have persevered to shun
The common paths that others run
And on a strange road journeyed on,
Heedless alike of Wealth and Power –
Of Glory's wreath and Pleasure's flower –

These once indeed seemed Beings devine
And they perchance heard vows of mine
And saw my offerings on their shrine –
But, careless gifts are seldom prized
And mine were worthily despised;

So with a ready heart I swore
To seek their alter stone no more
And gave my spirit to adore
Thee, ever present, phantom thing.
My Slave, my Comrade and my King!

A Slave because I rule thee still
Incline thee to my changeful will
And make thy influence good or ill –
A Comrade - for by day and night
Thou art my intimate Delight –

My Darling Pain that wounds and sears
And wrings a blessing out from tears
By deadening me to real cares;
And yet a King – though prudence well
Have taught thy subject to rebel –

And am I wrong, to worship where
Faith cannot doubt, nor Hope dispair,
Since my own soul can grant my prayer?
Speak God of Visions, Plead for me,
And tell why I have chosen thee!

The Philosopher's conclusion

o Febuary 3rd 1845 -

"Enough of Thought, Philosopher,
"Too long hast thou been dreaming
"Unlightened, in this chamber drear
"While summer's sun is beaming -

[30] Cursive script.

“Space-sweeping soul, what sad refrain <r>
“concludes thy musings once again?

“O for the time when I shall sleep
“without identity –
“And never care how rain may steep
“Or snow may cover me!

“No promised Heaven, these wild Desires
“Could all or half fulfill -
“No threatened Hell – with quenchless fires
“Subdue this quenchless will!”

- So said I. and still say the same, -
- Still to my Death will say –
Three Gods within this little frame
Are warring night and day –

Heaven could not hold them all, and yet
They all are held in me
And must be mine till I forget
My present entity –

O, for the time, when in my breast
Their struggles will be o’er –
O for the day when I shall rest
And never suffer more!

“I saw a Spirit standing, Man,
“Where thou doest stand – an hour ago,
“And round his feet, three rivers ran
“Of equal depth and equal flow –

“A Golden Stream, and one like blood
“And one like Sapphire, seemed to be
“But where they joined their triple flood
“It tumbled in an inky sea –

“The Spirit bent his dazzeling gaze
“Down on that Ocean’s gloomy night
“Then – kindling all with sudden blaze
“The glad deep sparkled wide and bright
“White as the sun far, far more fair
“Than their devided sources were!”

- And even for that Spirit, Seer,
I’ve whached and sought my life time long
Sought Him in Heaven, Hell, Earth and Air
An endless search – and always wrong!

Had I but seen his glorious eye
Once light the clouds that wilder me,
I ne’er had raised this coward cry
To cease to think and cease to be –

I ne er had called oblivion blest <v>
Nor stretching eager hands to Death
Implored to change for lifeless rest
This sentient soul, this living breath
[…][31] O let me die that power and will
Their cruel strife may close
And vanquished Good victorious Ill
Be lost in one repose _____ […][32] April 14th 1845 -
Ah! why, because the dazzeling sun
Restored my earth to joy
Have you departed, every one,
And left a desert sky?

All through the night, your glorious eyes
were gazing down in mine
And with a full hearts thankful sighs
I blessed that whach devine!

I was at peace – and drank your beams
As they were life to me
And revelled in my changeful dreams
Like petrel on the sea –

Thought followed thought – star followed star
Through boundless regions on
While one sweet influence, near and far,
Thrilled through and proved us one –

Why did the morning rise to break
So great, so pure a spell,
And scorch with fire the tranquil cheek
Where your cool radiance fell?

Blood-red he rose, and arrow-straight
His fierce beams struck my brow
The soul of Nature sprang elate,
But mine sank sad and low!

My lids closed down – yet through their veil
I saw him blazing still;
And bathe in gold the misty dale
And Flash upon the hill –

I turned me to the pillow then
To call back Night, and see
Your worlds of solemn light again
Throb with my heart and me!

It would not do – the pillow glowed
And glowed both roof and floor
And birds sang loudly in the wood
And fresh winds shook the door.

The curtains waved, the wakened flies
Were murmering round my room
Imprisoned there, till I should rise
And give them leave to roam -

[31] Four lines have been heavily crossed out. Davidson Cook (1926) deciphered them (see Chapter Three).
[32] The 3 dividing lines, date and <o> have all been overwritten by the last stanza of 'Enough of Thought'.

O, Stars and Dreams and Gentle Night – <r>
O, Night and Stars return!
And hide me from the hostile light
That does not warm, but burn –

That drains the blood of suffering men –
Drinks tears, instead of dew –
Let me sleep through his blinding reign
And only wake with you! -

April 10th 1845

Death, that struck when I was most confiding
In my certain Faith of Joy to be;
Strike again, Time's whithered branch deviding
From the Fresh root of Eternity!

Leaves, upon Time's branch, were growing brightly
Full of sap and Full of silver dew;
Birds, beneath its shelter, gathered nightly;
Daily, round its flowers, the wild bees flew –

Sorrow passed and plucked the golden blossom;
Guilt stripped off the foliage in its pride;
But, within its parents kindly bosom
Flowed Forever Life's restoring tide –

Little mourned I for the parted Gladness,
For the vacant nest and silent song;
Hope was there and laughed me out of sadness,
Whispering, "Winter will not linger long" –

And behold, with tenfold increase blessing
Spring adorned the beauty-burdened Spray;
Wind and rain and fervant heat caressing
Lavished glory on its second may –

High it rose; no winged greif could sweep it;
Sin was scared to distance with its shine:
Love and it's own life had power to keep it
From all wrong, from very blight but thine! –

Cruel Death, the young leaves droop and languish!
Evenings gentle air may still restore –
No, the morning sunshine mocks my anguish –
Time for me must never blossom more!

Strike it down – that other boughs may flourish
Where that perished sapling used to be;
Thus at least, its mouldering corpse will nourish
That from which it sprung. Eternity –

[…][33] <v>

June 2nd 1845 –

How beautiful the Earth is still
To Thee, how full of Happiness;
How little fraught with real ill
Or Shadowy phantoms of distress;

How Spring can bring thee glory yet,
And summer win thee to forget
December's sullen time!
Why dost thou hold the treasure fast
Of youth's delight, when youth is past
And though art near thy prime?

When those who were thy own compeers
Equal in fortunes and in years
Have seen their morning melt in tears
To dull unlovely day;
Blest, had they died unproved and young
Before their hearts were wildly wrung
Poor slaves, subdued by passions strong
A weak and helpless prey!

"Because, I hoped while they enjoyed
"And by fulfilment, hope destroyed –
"As Children hope, with trustfull breast
"I waited Bliss and cherished Rest –

"A thoughtful Spirit taught me soon
"That we must long till life be done
"That every phase of earthly joy
"Will always fade and always cloy –

"This I forsaw; and would not chase
"The fleeting treacheries
"But with firm foot and tranquil face
"Held back ward from that tempting race;
"Gazed o'er the sands, the waves efface
"To the enduring seas –

"There cast my anchor of Desire
"Deep in unknown Eternity
"Nor ever let my spirit tire
"With looking for <u>What is to Be.</u>

"It is Hope's spell that glorifies
"Like youth to my mature eyes
"All Nature's million mysteries –
"The fearful and the fair –

"Hope soothes me in the greifs I know
"She lulls my pain for other's woe
"And makes me strong to undergo
"What I am born to bear.[34]

[33] An inverted <V> shaped section has been cut out of the photograph at this point.
[34] The final stanza continues on the same page in the notebook, but for the sake of legibility I have completed the poem on a second page in this transcript.

[This page is intentionally blank]

“Glad comforter, will I not brave <v>
“Unawed, the darkness of the grave.
“Nay, smile to hear Death’s billows rave
“My guide, sustained by thee?
“The more unjust seems present fate
“The more my spirit springs elate
“Strong in thy strength, to anticipate
“Rewarding Destiny!”

Never was better stuff penned[35]

[35] In small print, but not in Emily Brontë’s handwriting.

[…][36] Jan 2nd 1846 <r>

No coward soul is mine
No trembler in the world's storm-troubled sphere
I see Heaven's glories shine
And Faith shines equal arming me from Fear

O God within my breast
Almighty ever-present Deity
Life, that in me hast rest
As I – Undying Life, have power in thee

Vain are the thousand creeds
That move men's hearts, unutterably vain,
Worthless as withered weeds
Or idlest froth amid the boundless main

To waken doubt in one
Holding so fast by thy infinity
So surely anchored on
The steadfast rock of Immortality

With wide-embracing love
Thy spirit animates eternal years
Pervades and broods above,
Changes, sustains, dissolves, creates and rears

Though Earth and moon were gone
And suns and universes ceased to be
And Thou wert left alone
Every Exsistance would exsist in Thee

There is not room for Death
Nor atom that his might could render void
Since Thou art Being and Breath
And what Thou art may never be destroyed.

[36] The 1897 photograph of this page shows three words heavily scored out at this point. The BPM photograph has this corner cut off. The cut section of the preceding poem corresponds to this cutting out and may have been done to remove the blot resulting from closing the notebook after the erasure was made.

[This page is left intentionally blank]

Appendix B: Figures and Tables

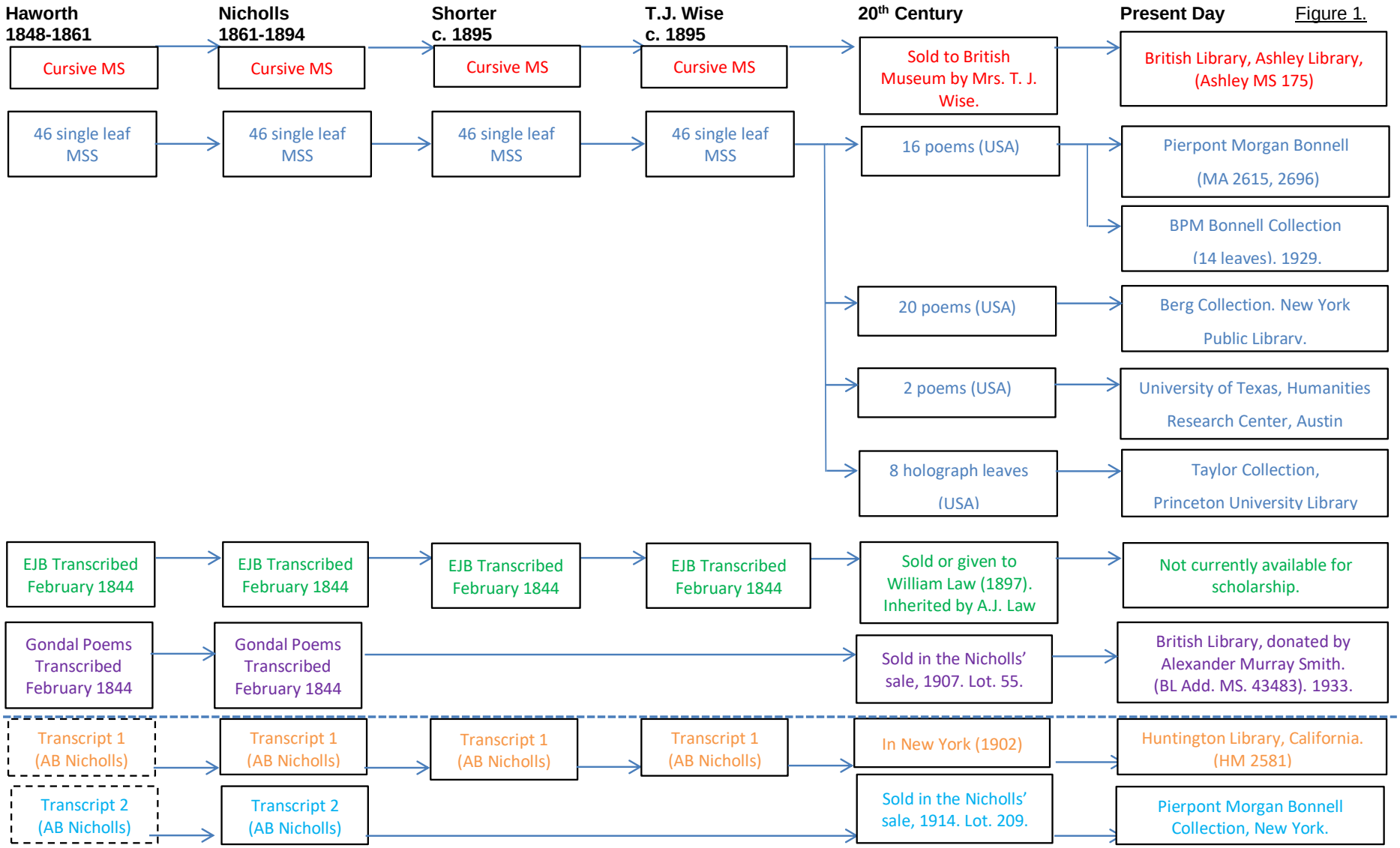
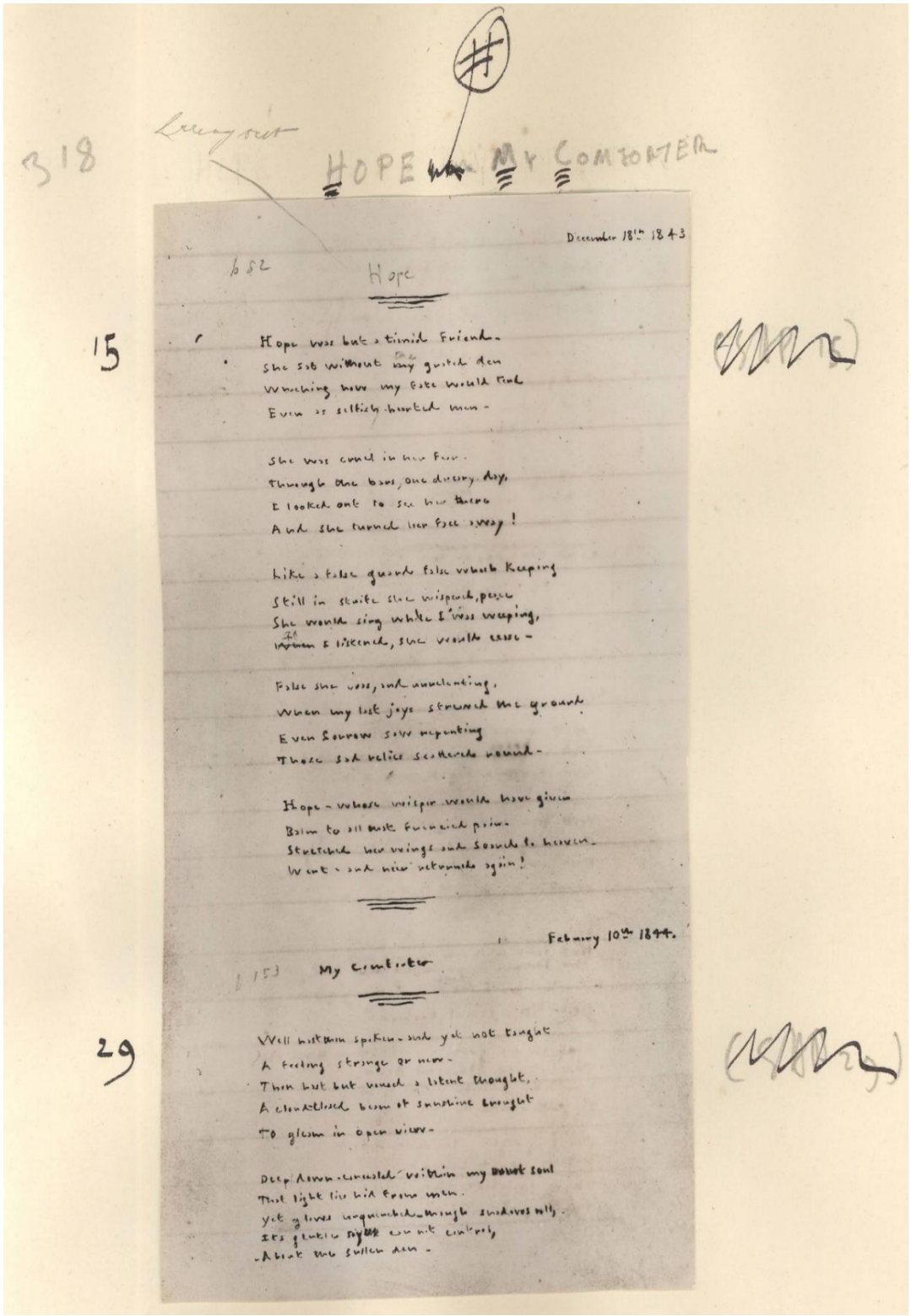

Haworth
1848-1861
Nicholls
1861-1894
Shorter
c. 1895
T.J. Wise
c. 1895
20th Century
Present Day
Cursive MS
Cursive MS
Cursive MS
Cursive MS
Sold to British Museum by Mrs. T. J. Wise.
British Library, Ashley Library, (Ashley MS 175)
46 single leaf MSS
46 single leaf MSS
46 single leaf MSS
46 single leaf MSS
16 poems (USA)
Pierpont Morgan Bonnell (MA 2615, 2696)
BPM Bonnell Collection (14 leaves). 1929.
20 poems (USA)
Berg Collection. New York Public Library.
2 poems (USA)
University of Texas, Humanities Research Center, Austin
8 holograph leaves (USA)
Taylor Collection, Princeton University Library
EJB Transcribed February 1844
EJB Transcribed February 1844
EJB Transcribed February 1844
EJB Transcribed February 1844
Sold or given to William Law (1897). Inherited by A.J. Law
Not currently available for scholarship.
Gondal Poems Transcribed February 1844
Gondal Poems Transcribed February 1844
Sold in the Nicholls' sale, 1907. Lot. 55.
British Library, donated by Alexander Murray Smith. (BL Add. MS. 43483). 1933.
Transcript 1 (AB Nicholls)
Transcript 1 (AB Nicholls)
Transcript 1 (AB Nicholls)
Transcript 1 (AB Nicholls)
In New York (1902)
Huntington Library, California. (HM 2581)
Transcript 2 (AB Nicholls)
Transcript 2 (AB Nicholls)
Sold in the Nicholls' sale, 1914. Lot. 209.
Pierpont Morgan Bonnell Collection, New York.

Figure 1.

Figure 2.1



December 18th 1843

Hope

Hope was but a timid Friend -
She sat without my grateful den
Watching how my fate would end
Even as selfishly hunted man -

She was cruel in her Fear -
Through the bars, one dreary day,
I looked out to see how there
And she turned her face away!

Like a false guard false words keeping
Still in strife she whispered, peace
She would sing while I was weeping,
When I listened, she would cease -

False she was, and unrelenting,
When my last joys strewed the ground
Even Sorrow saw repenting
Those sad relics scattered round -

Hope - whose whisper would have given
Balm to all most Friendless pain -
Stretched her wings and soared to heaven -
Went - and never returned again!

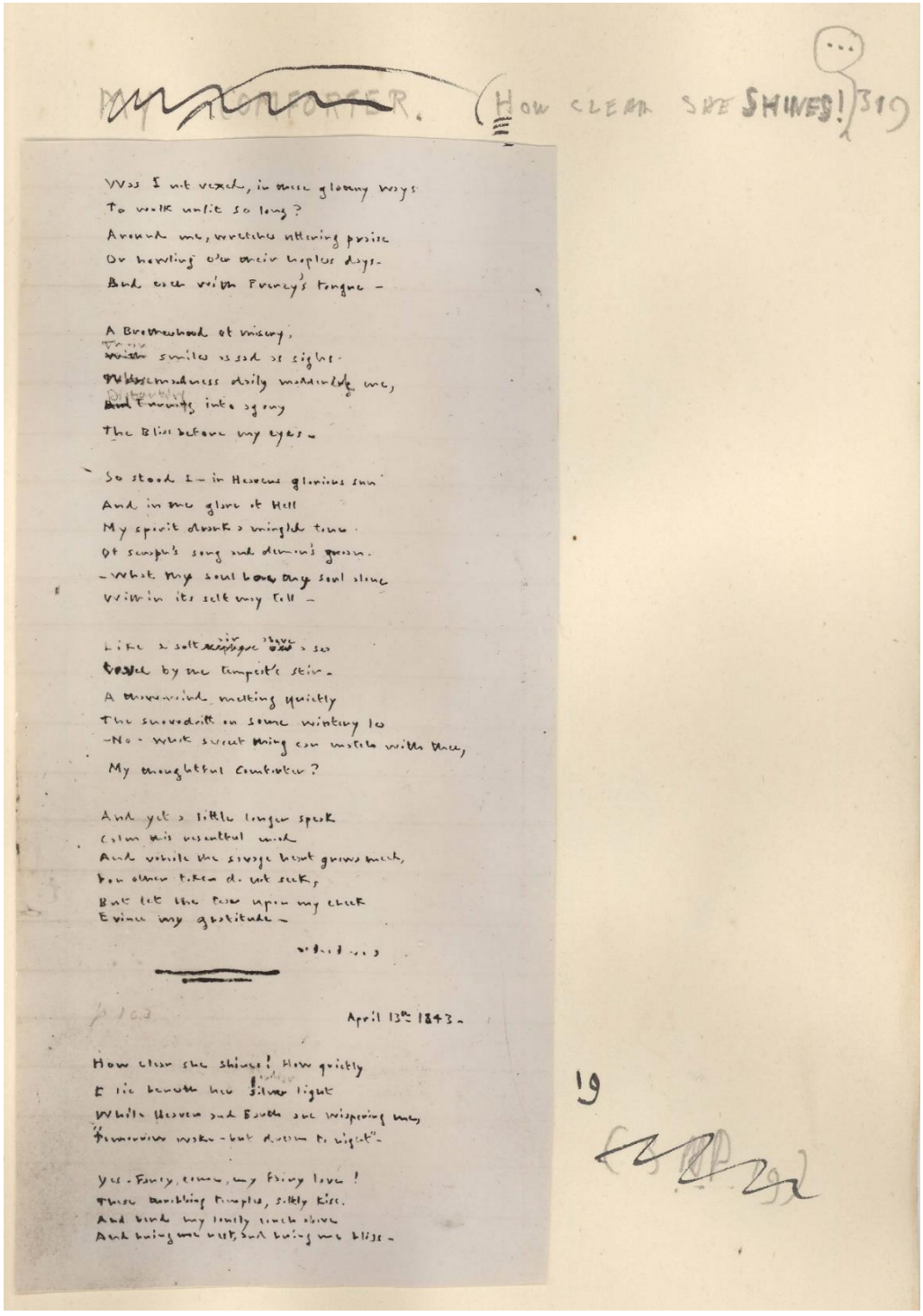
Febuary 10th 1844.

My Comforter

Well with him spoken - and yet not tonight
A feeling stronger or more -
Then but late mixed a silent thought,
A cloud-lined beam of sunshine brought
To gloom in open view -

Deep down-entwined within my soul
That light lies hid from men -
Yet glows unquenched - though shadows roll
Its gentle ray can ne'er control,
-Above the sullen den -

Figure 2.2



MAY MOUNTFORTER. (How clear she shines! 319

Was I not vexed, in those gloomy ways
To walk unlit so long?
Around me, writhing pining praise
Or howling o'er their hapless days-
And each with Envy's tongue -

A Brotherhood of misery,
With smiles as sad as sighs-
Madness daily maddening me,
And Envying into agony
The Bliss before my eyes -

So stood I - in Heavens glorious sun
And in the glare of Hell
My spirit drank a mingled tone
Of seraph's song and demon's groan.
- What my soul knew, my soul alone
Within its self may tell -

Like a salt sea-gave, so
Vexed by the tempest's strife -
A Mid-wind melting quickly
The snowdrift on some wintery lea
- No - what sweet thing can match with thee,
My thoughtful Comforter?

And yet a little longer speak
Calm this resentful mood
And while the savage heart grows meek,
For others taken & not seek,
But let the flow upon my cheek
Evince my gratitude -

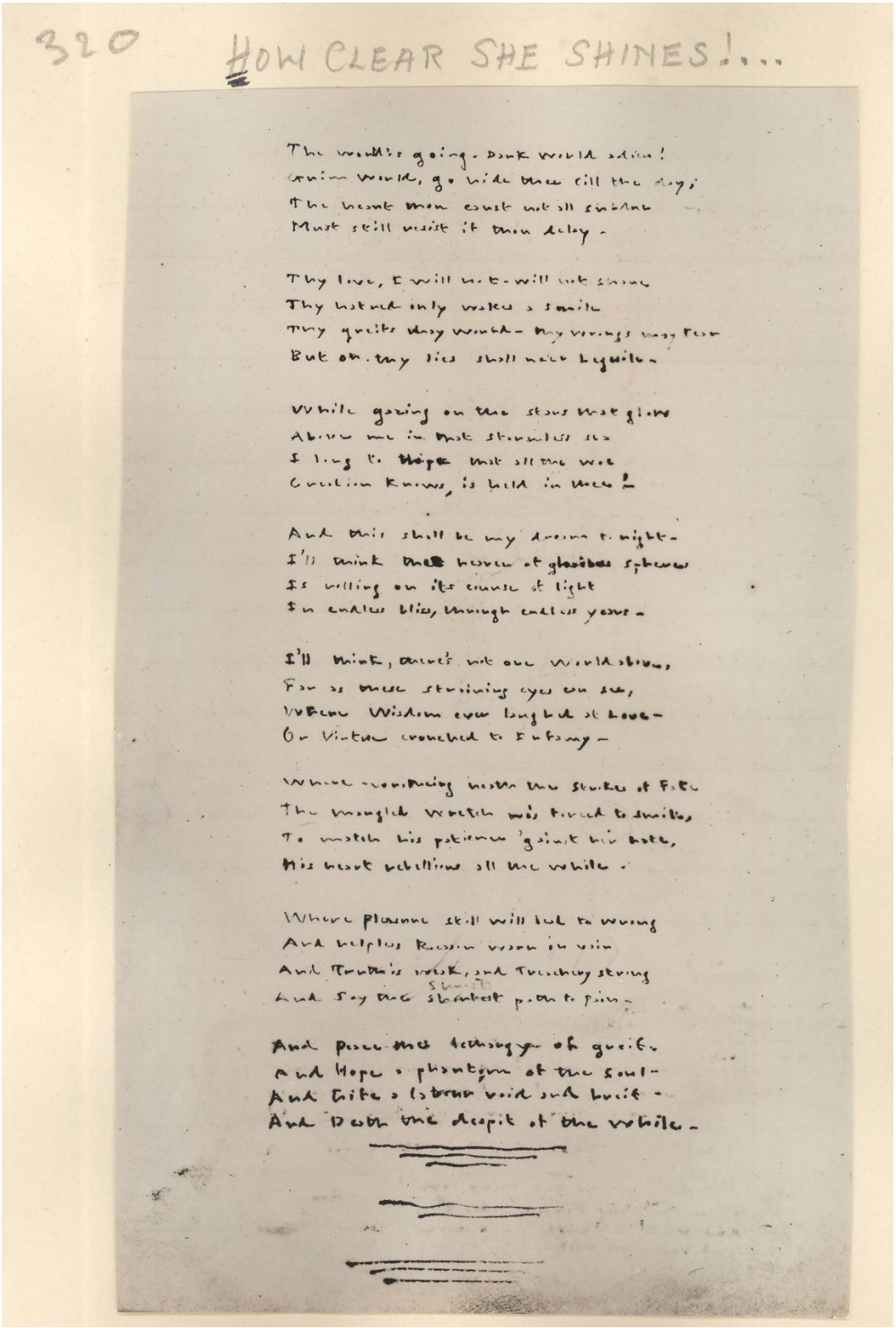
April 13th 1843 -

How clear she shines! How quickly
I lie beneath her silver light
While Heaven and Earth are whispering me,
"Remember me - but dream to night" -

Yes - Fancy, come, my Fairy love!
These trembling fingers, softly kiss.
And bind my lonely temples wave
And bring me rest, and bring me bliss -

19

Figure 2.3



320

HOW CLEAR SHE SHINES!...

The world's going - Dark World adieu!
Grim World, go hide thee till the day;
The heart thou canst not all enslave
Must still resist it thou delay -

Thy love, I will not - will not crave
Thy hatred only wakes a smile
Thy gentle days would - thy revenge may rave
But on - thy lies shall never beguile -

While gazing on the stars that glow
Above me in that stormless sea
I long to hope that all the woe
Creation knows, is held in thee!

And this shall be my dream tonight -
I'll think that heaven of ghostless spheres
Is rolling on its course of light
In endless bliss, through endless years -

I'll think, there's not one World above,
Far as these straining eyes can see,
Where Wisdom ever looked at Love -
Or Virtue crouched to Infamy -

Where - wondering neath the strokes of Fate
The mangled Wretch was forced to smile,
To watch his patience 'gainst his hate,
His heart rebelling all the while -

Where pleasure still will lure to wrong
And helpless Reason warn in vain
And Truth is weak, and Treachery strong
And Joy the shortest path to pain -

And pass - that nothing - oh grief -
And Hope - phantasm of the soul -
And Life - a joyless void and brief -
And Death the despot of the whole -

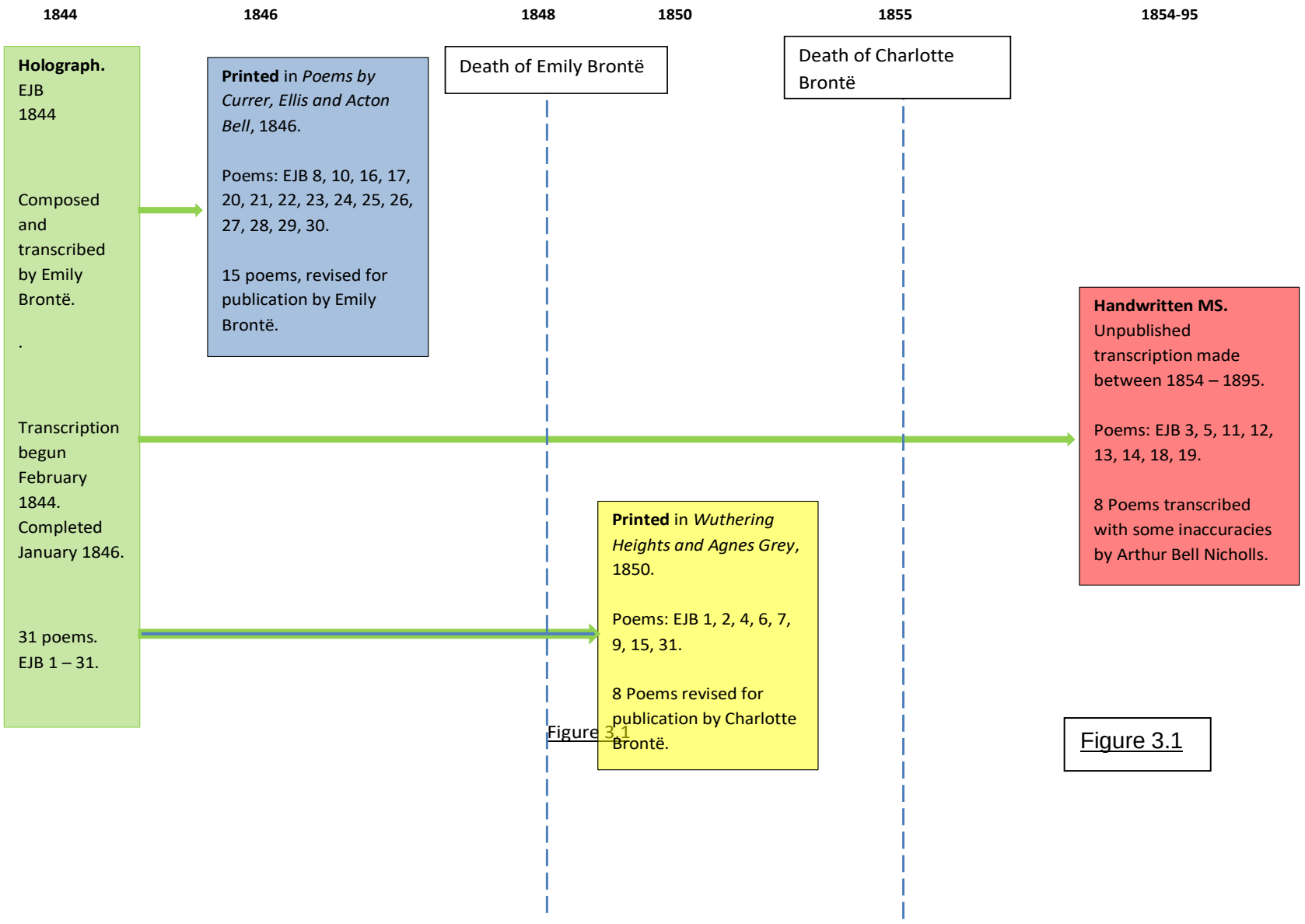
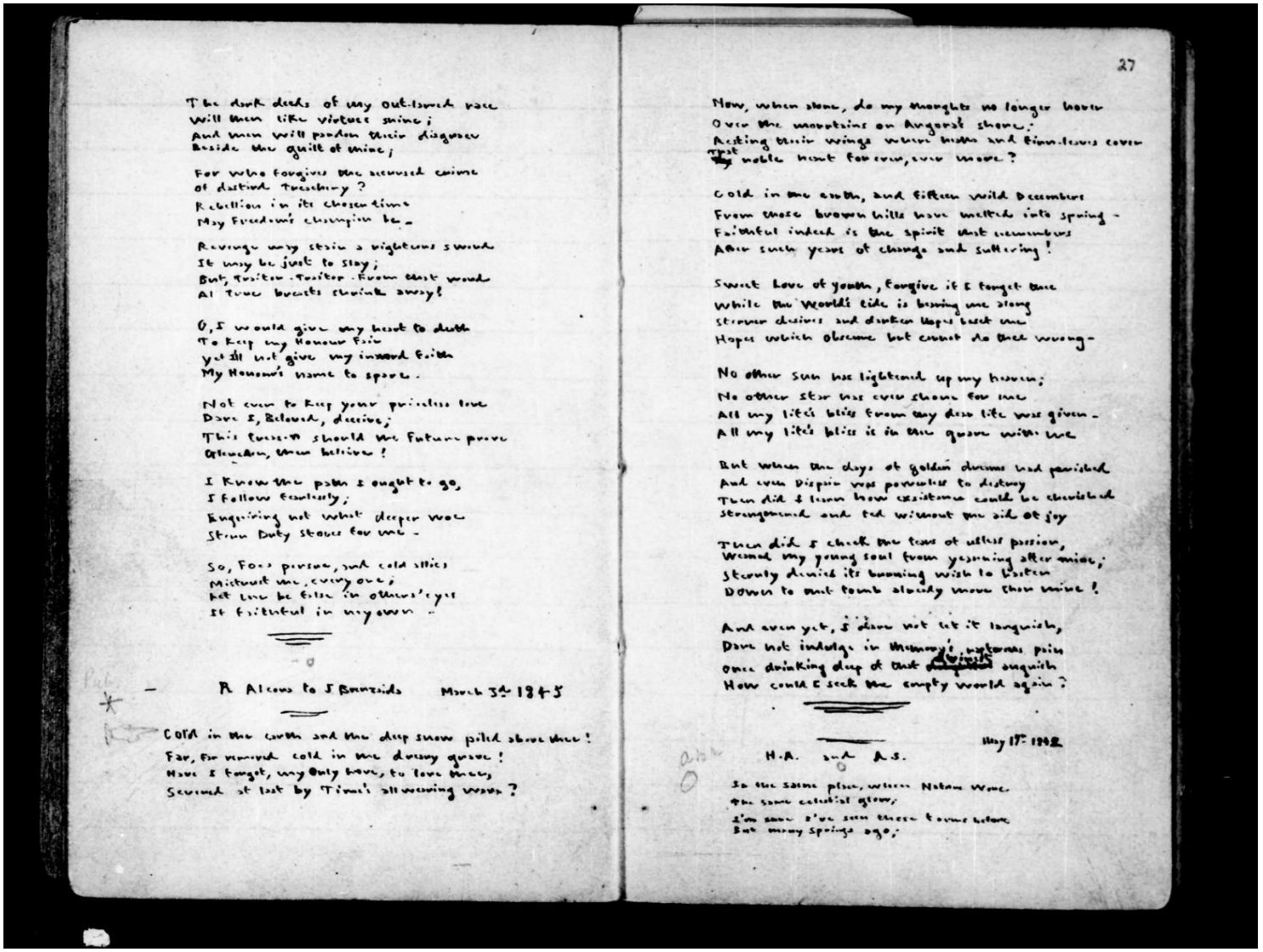


Figure 3.1

Figure 3.1



The dark deeds of my out-lawed race
Will them like virtues shine;
And men will pardon their disgrace
Beside the guilt of mine;

For who forgives the accursed crime
Of dastard Treachery?
Rebellion in its chosen time
May Freedom's champion be -

Revenge may stain a righteous sword
It may be just to slay;
But, Traitor - Traitor - Traitor - Every chord
At your bare touch shrinks away!

O, I would give my heart to death
To keep my Honour fair
Yet will not give my inward Faith
My Honour's name to spare.

Not even to keep your priceless love
Dare I, Beloved, deceive;
This Treason should the Future prove
Oh reckless, then believe!

I Know the path I ought to go,
I Follow fearlessly;
Enquiring not what deeper woe
Stern Duty stores for me -

So, Foes pursue, and cold allies
Mistrust me, every one;
But Love be false in others' eyes
If Faithful in my own -

R Alcona to J Brunsdin March 3d 1845

Cold in the earth and the deep snow piled above thee!
Far, far removed cold in the dreary grave!
Have I forgot, my Only Love, to love thee,
Severed at last by Time's all-wearing wave?

Now, when alone, do my thoughts no longer hover
Over the mountains on Arvon's shore,
Resting their wings where heath and fern-leaves cover
My noble heart for ever, ever more?

Cold in the earth, and fifteen wild Decembers
From those brown hills have melted into spring -
Faithful indeed is the spirit that remembers
After such years of change and suffering!

Sweet Love of youth, forgive if I forget thee
While the World's tide is bearing me along
Stronger desires and stormier Hopes beset me
Hopes which obscure but cannot do thee wrong -

No other Sun has lightened up my heaven;
No other Star has ever shone for me
All my life's bliss from thy dear life was given -
All my life's bliss is in the grave with thee

But when the days of golden dreams had perished
And even Despair was powerless to destroy
Then did I learn how existence could be cherished
Strengthened and fed without the aid of joy

Then did I check the tears of useless passion,
Wean my young soul from yearning after thine,
Sternly denied its burning wish to hasten
Down to that tomb already more than mine!

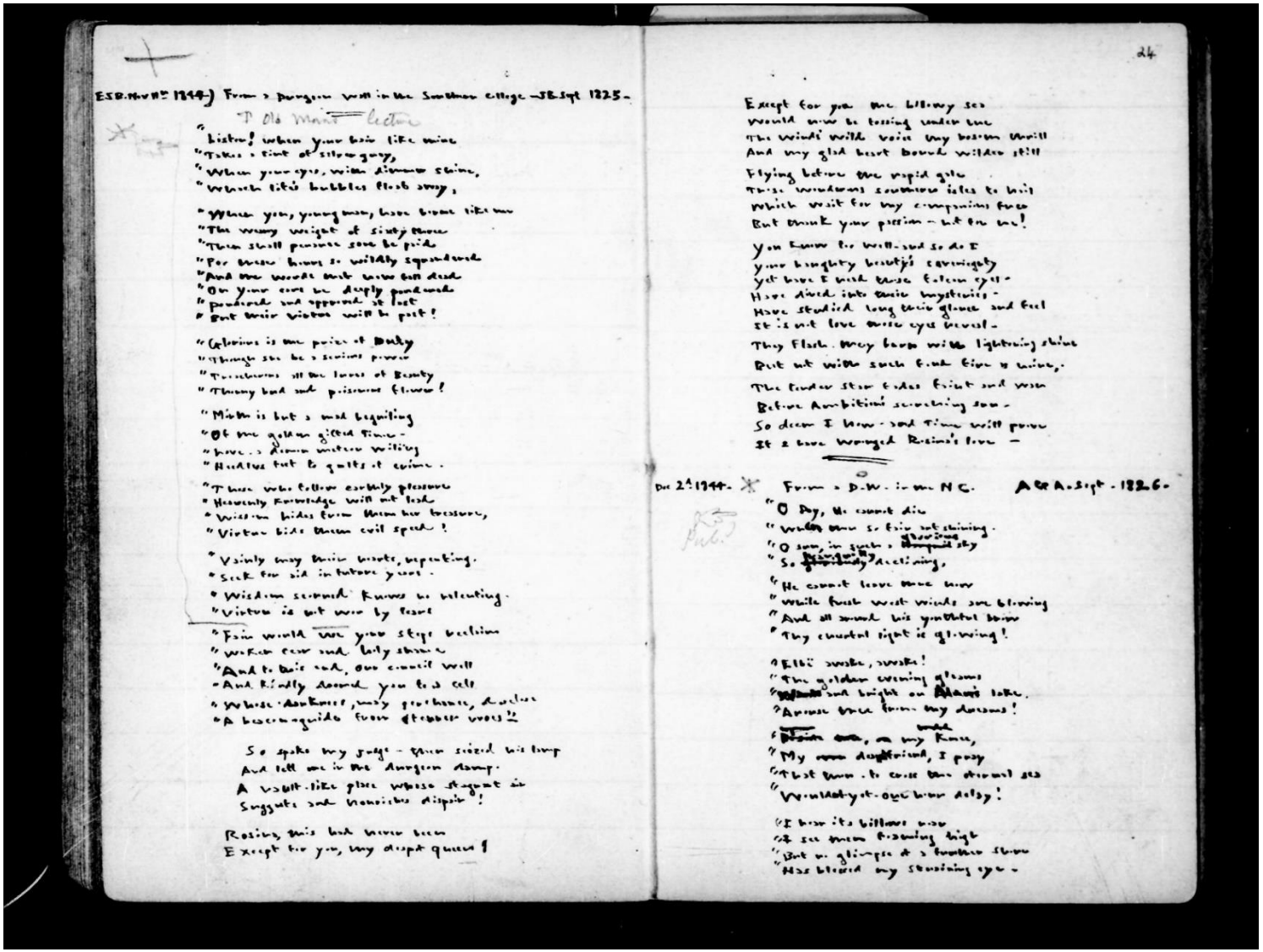
And even yet, I dare not let it languish,
Dare not indulge in Memory's rapturous pain
once drinking deep of that [illegible] anguish
How could I seek the empty world again?

May 17th 1842

H.A. and A.S.

To the same place, wherein Nature wore
The same celestial glow,
I've seen these towers before
But many springs ago;

G.36
Figure 3.2



ESB. Nov 11 1944) From a Dungeon wall in the Southwest college — SB. Sept 1825 —

"Old Mint — Lecture

"Listen! when your hair like mine
"Takes a tint of silver grey,
"When your eye, with dimmer shine,
"Watch life's bubbles flash away,

"When you, young man, have become like me
"The weary weight of sixty three
"Then shall pleasure soon be paid
"For these hours so wildly squandered
"And the words that now fall dead
"On your ears be deeply pondered
"pondered and appraised at last
"But their victim will be past!

"Glorious is the power of Duty
"Though she be a sternest power
"Treacherous all the lures of Beauty
"Thorny bud and poisonous flower!

"Mirth is but a mad beguiling
"Of the golden gifted Time —
"Love a demon written willing
"Hurtles but to guilt it crime.

"Those who follow earthly pleasure
"Heavenly Knowledge will not heed
"Wisdom hides from them her treasure,
"Virtue bids them evil speed!

"Vainly may their words, repenting,
"Seek for aid in future years —
"Wisdom scorned Knows no relenting —
"Virtue is not won by tears

"Fain would we your steps beckon
"Warn from woe and folly shore
"And to this end, our council will
"And kindly counsel you to tell
"Whose darkness, misty gruesome, dwelling
"A basin-quide from drabber wells!"

So spake my judge — then seized his lamp
And left me in the dungeon damp.
A wolf-like glare whose stagnant air
Suggests and nourishes despair!

Rosiny this had never been
Except for you, my distant queen!

24

Except for you the billowy sea
Would now be tossing under me
The winds would voice my bosom thrill
And my glad heart bound wildest still

Flying before the rapid gale
These wondrous sunshine isles to hail
Which wait for my companions free
But think your pilgrim — but for me!

You know for well — and so do I
your haughty beauty's sovereignty
Yet have I met those fatal eyes —
Have dived into their mysteries —
Have studied long their glance and feel
It is not love those eyes reveal —

They flash they burn with lightning shine
But not with such pure fire as mine,
The tender star guides faint and wan
Before Ambition's scorching sun —
So dream I now — and time will prove
If I have wronged Rosina's love —

Dec 24 1944 — From a P.W. in the N.C. A & A. Sept. 1826.

"O Day, He cannot die
"While thou so fair art shining.
"O see, in south a [illegible] sky
"So [illegible] threatening,

"He cannot leave me now
"While first west winds are blowing
"And all around his youthful brow
"The crystal light is glowing!

"Ebb! awake, awake!
"The golden evening gleams
"[illegible] and bright on Allan's lake.
"Arouse these forms my dreams!

"[illegible] awake, my Love,
"My own dear friend, I pray
"That soon to come that eternal sea
"Wouldst yet one hour delay!

"I know its billows now
"I see them heaving high
"But no glimpse of a foothill shows
"Has blurred my straining eye —

G.31
Figure 3.3

Table 3.1: 'Gondal Poems': Marginal Notes.

Edition	Number	First Line	Marginal Notes						
1846	G.30	'The linnet in the rocky dells'	o	*	Pub?				
1846	G.32	'O Day, He cannot die'	o	*	Pub?	hand			
1846	G.34	'The winter wind is loud and wild'	o	*					
1846	G.35	'The moon is full this winter night'	o	*					
1846	G.36	'Cold in the earth and the deep snow piled above thee'	o	*	Pub	hand			
1846	G.42	'In the dungeon crypts idly did I stray'	o	*	Pub				
1850	G.14	'I knew not 'twas so dire a crime'		*			+		
1850	G.16	'For him who struck thy foreign string'		*			+		
1850	G.23	'How few of all the hearts that loved'		*			+		
1850	G.27	'In the earth, the earth thou shalt be laid'	o	*			+		
1850	G28	'I do not weep, I would not weep'		*					
1850	G.31	'Listen! when your hair like mine' (first 8 stanzas)		*		hand	+		
1850	G.40	'Heavy hangs the raindrop'	o	*			+		
1850	G.42	'Silent is the House – all are laid asleep'		*			+		
ABN	G.3	'At such a time, in such a spot'	o						ABN
ABN	G.5	'This summer wind with thee and me'	o						ABN
ABN	G.6	'O wander not so far away'						O	ABN
ABN	G.7	'Sacred watcher, wave thy bells'	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.8	'How do I love on summer nights'	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.9	'Well, narrower draw the circle round'	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.10	'From our evening fireside now'						O	ABN
ABN	G.11	'Tell me watcher, is it winter?'	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.12	'Weeks of wild delirium past'						O	ABN

ABN	G.13	‘Geraldine, the moon is shining’						O	ABN
ABN	G.15	‘’Twas night, her comrades gathered all’	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.17	‘Thy sun is near meridian height’	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.18	‘Light up thy halls! ’Tis closing day’	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.19	‘The busy day has hurried by’						O	ABN
ABN	G.20	‘All blue and bright in glorious light’	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.21	‘Were they shepherds who sat all day’						O	ABN
ABN	G.22	‘I’ve seen this dell in July’s shine’						O	ABN
ABN	G.24	‘Come walk with me’	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.25	‘Thy Guardians are asleep’					+	O	ABN
ABN	G.26	‘Where beams the sun the brightest’	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.29	‘’Twas yesterday at early dawn’	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.31	‘Listen! when your hair like mine (last 3 stanzas)							
ABN	G.37	‘In the same place where Nature wore’	o					O	ABN
ABN	G.38	‘Lie down and rest, the fight is done’	o				+		
ABN	G.39	‘A thousand sounds of happiness’	o				+	O	ABN
ABN	G.42	‘I know that tonight the wind is sighing’					+	O	ABN

Table 3.2: ‘Gondal Poems’: No Nineteenth-Century Publication or Transcription.

	Number	First Line	Marginal Notes

No edition	G.1	‘There shines the moon at noon of night’							
No edition	G.2	‘Lord of Elbë, on Elbë hill’							
No edition	G.4	‘Thou standest in the greenwood now’							
No edition	G.33	‘Come the wind may never again’	o						
No edition	G.43	‘Why ask to know the date – the clime’							
No edition	G.44	‘Why ask to know what date what clime’							

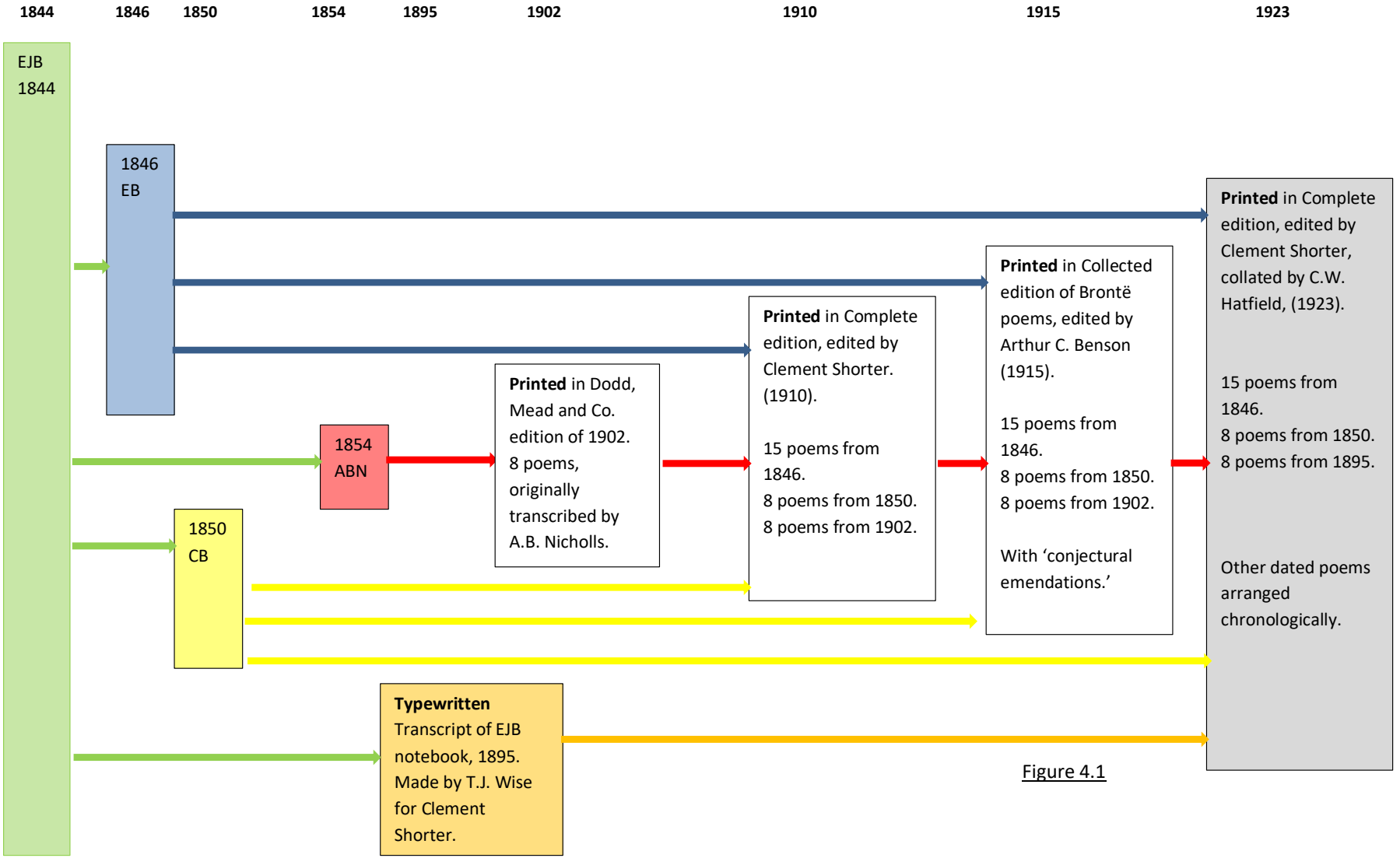

1844
1846
1850
1854
1895
1902
1910
1915
1923
EJB
1844
1846
EB
1854
ABN
1850
CB
Printed in Dodd, Mead and Co. edition of 1902. 8 poems, originally transcribed by A.B. Nicholls.
Printed in Complete edition, edited by Clement Shorter. (1910).
15 poems from 1846.
8 poems from 1850.
8 poems from 1902.
Printed in Collected edition of Brontë poems, edited by Arthur C. Benson (1915).
15 poems from 1846.
8 poems from 1850.
8 poems from 1902.
With 'conjectural emendations.'
Printed in Complete edition, edited by Clement Shorter, collated by C.W. Hatfield, (1923).
15 poems from 1846.
8 poems from 1850.
8 poems from 1895.
Other dated poems arranged chronologically.
Typewritten
Transcript of EJB notebook, 1895. Made by T.J. Wise for Clement Shorter.

Figure 4.1

Figure 5.1

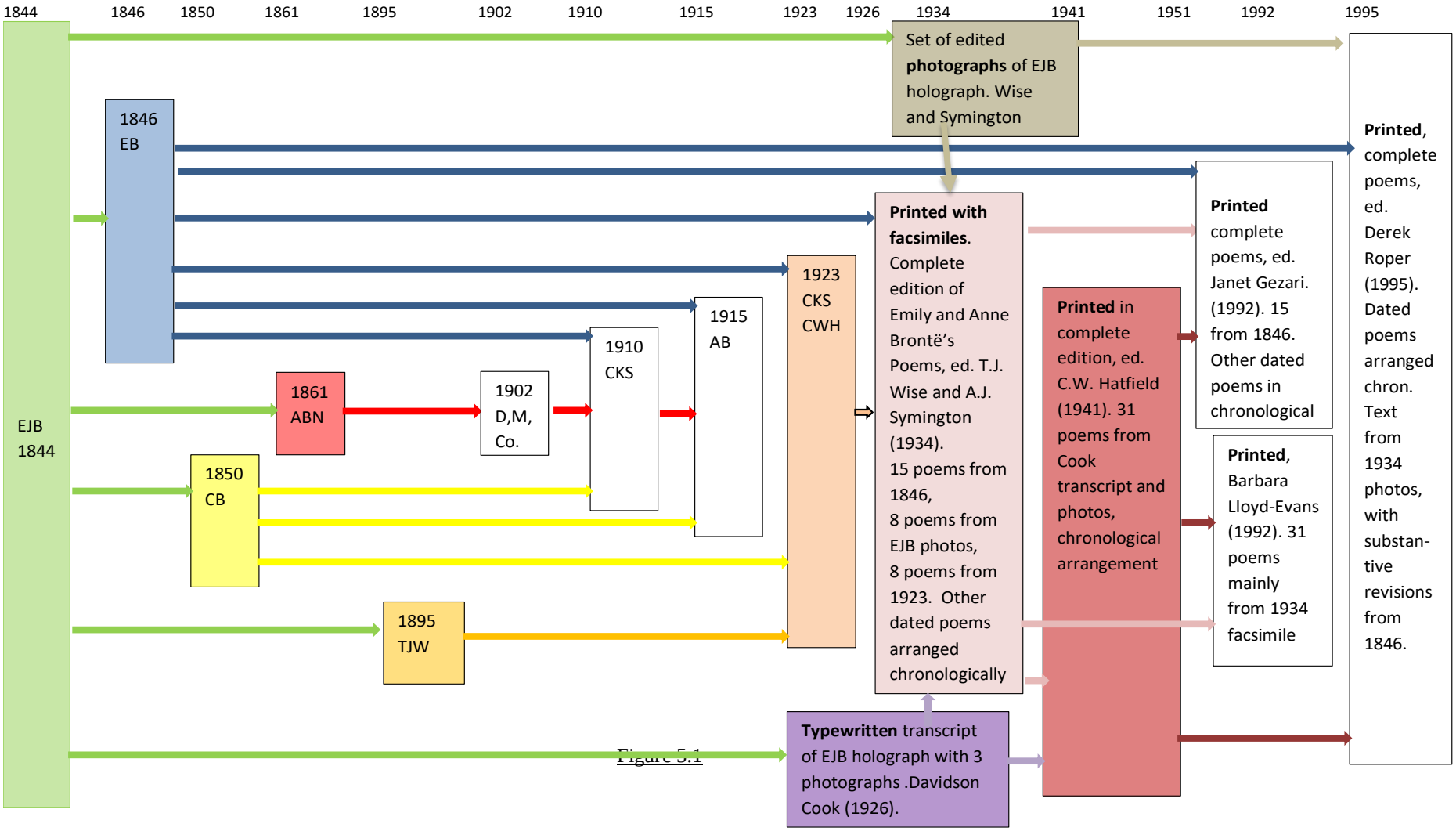
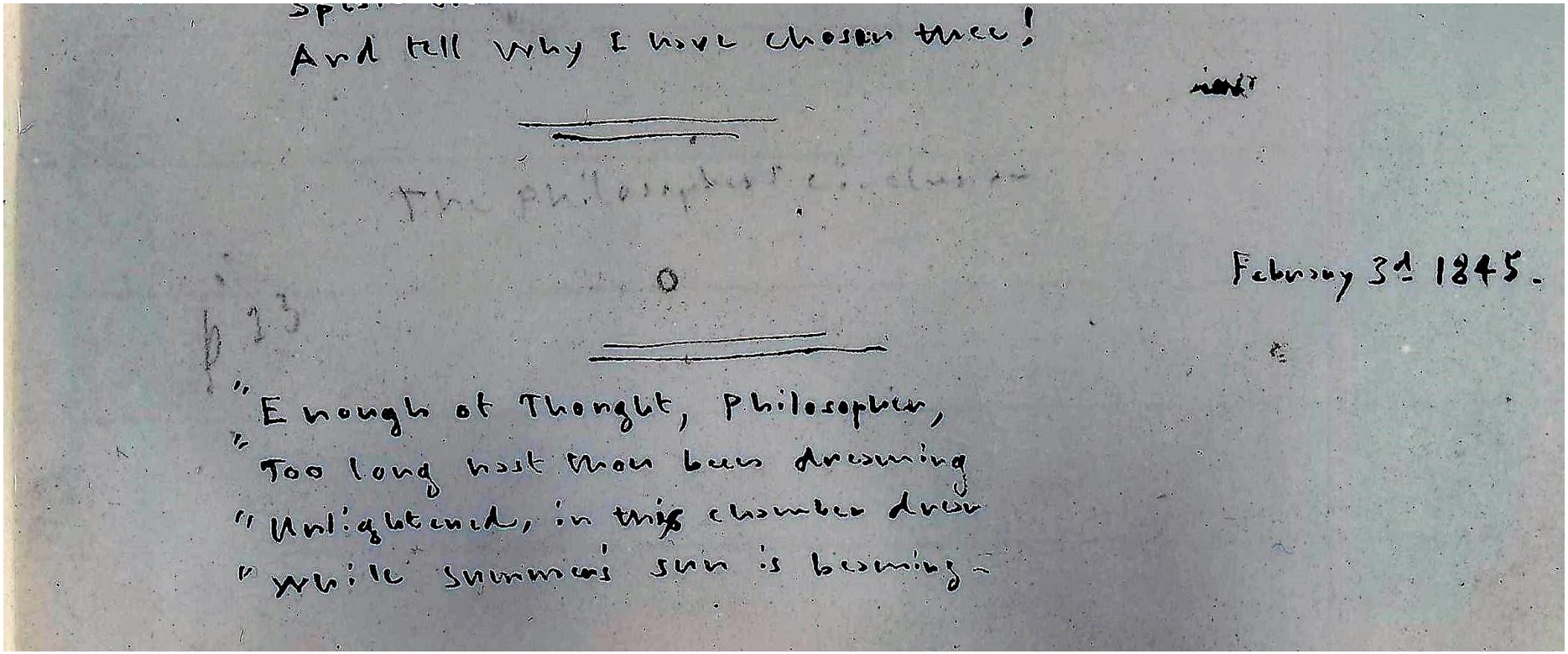


Figure 5.1

Figure 5.2



'Enough of Thought' (detail)

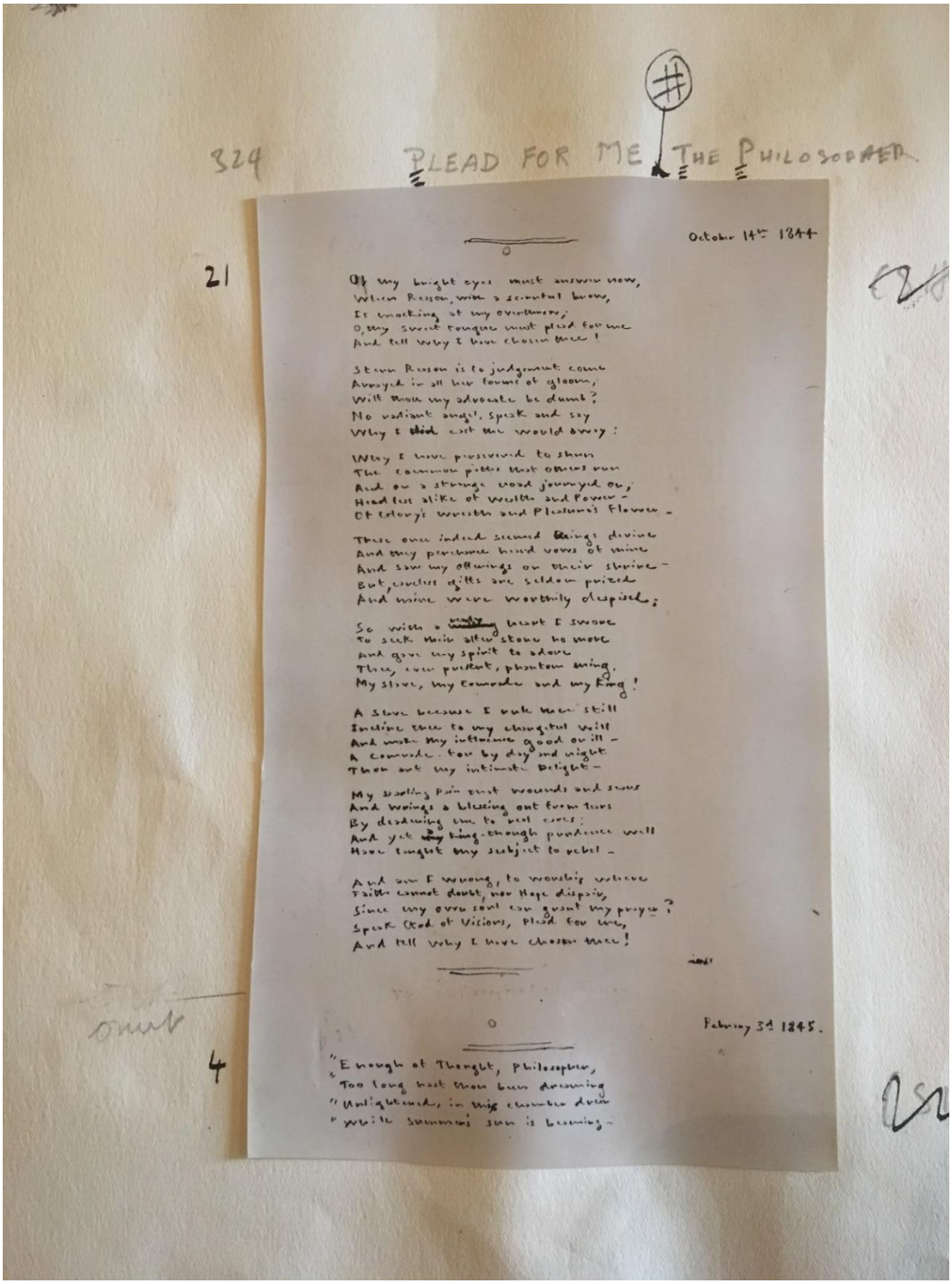
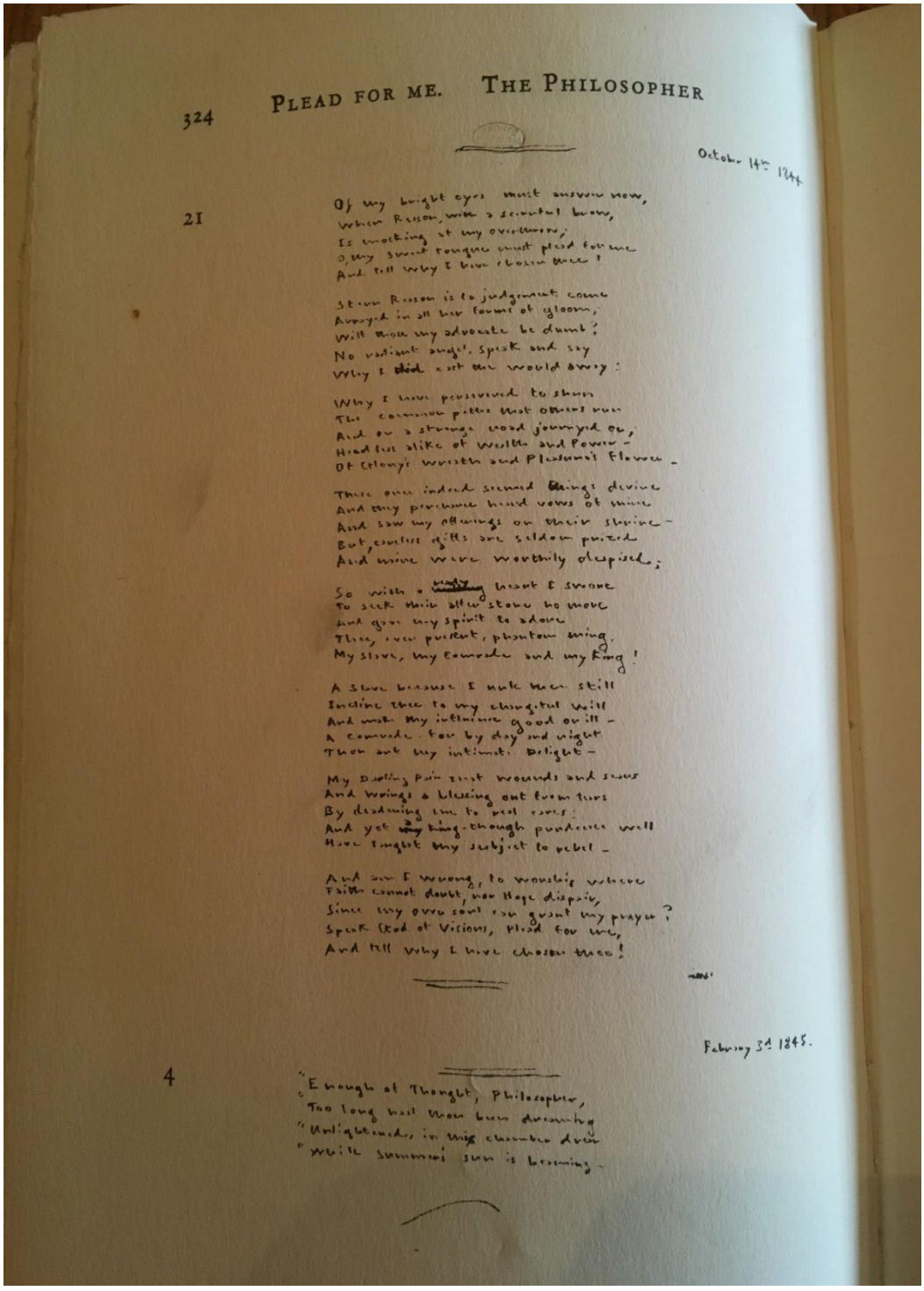


Figure 5.3

'Enough of Thought'



324 PLEAD FOR ME. THE PHILOSOPHER

October 14th 1844

21

Of my bright eyes must answer now,
When Reason, with a scornful brow,
Is mocking at my overthrow;
O, my sweet tongue must plead for me
And tell why I have chosen thee!

Stern Reason is to judgment come
Arrayed in all her forms of gloom,
Will thou my advocate be dumb?
No radiant angel, speak and say
Why I have cast the world away:

Why I have persevered to shun
The common paths that others run
And on a strange road journeyed on,
Heedless alike of Wealth and Power –
Of Glory's wreath and Pleasure's Flower –

These once indeed seemed things divine
And my proud heart vowed vows at mine
And saw my offerings on their shrine –
But, careless gifts are seldom prized
And mine were worthily despised;

So with a wounded heart I swore
To seek their altars no more
And gave my spirit to adore
This, ever present, phantom thing,
My slave, my Comrade and my King!

A slave because I made them still
Incline thee to my changeful will
And make thy influence good or ill –
A comrade, for by day and night
Thou art my intimate delight –

My Darling Pain that wounds and sears
And wrings a blessing out from tears
By deadening me to real cares:
And yet my King, though pondering well
How I might thy subject to rebel –

And am I wrong, to worship where
Faith cannot doubt, nor Hope despair,
Since my own soul can grant my prayer?
Speak God of Visions, plead for me,
And tell why I have chosen thee!

February 3d 1845.

4

"Enough of Thought, Philosopher,
"Too long hast thou been dreaming
"Unlighted, in this chamber dreir
"While Summer's sun is beaming.

Figure 5.4

'Enough of Thought' (SHB)

Bibliography.

Ă Kempis, Thomas, *The Imitation of Christ*, translated and ed. Leo Sherley-Price (London: Penguin, 1952).

----, *An Extract of the Christian's Pattern: or, a Treatise on the Imitation of Christ*, Written in Latin by Thomas À Kempis, Abridged and published in English by John Wesley, M.A. (London: Printed for the Booksellers and sold at the Preaching Houses in Town and Country, 1795).

Alexander, C. and Sellars, J., *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Alexander, C. and Smith, M., *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Allott, Miriam, ed., *The Brontës: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974).

Ashton, Rosemary, *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought: 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

Barker, Juliet, *The Brontës* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994).

Behler, Ernst, ed. *Philosophy of German Idealism* (New York: Continuum, 1987).

Beiser, Frederick C., (ed) *The Cambridge Companion to Hegel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 1st edn 1993).

Birch, Dinah, *Our Victorian Education* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).

Brontë, Charlotte, *Jane Eyre: An Autobiography*, ed. Clement K. Shorter, Camelot Series (London: Walter Scott, 1889).

----, *Jane Eyre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

----, *Shirley*, ed. Herbert Rosengarten and Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

----, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë: Volume one 1829-1847*, ed. Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

----, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë: Vol. two 1848-1851*, ed. Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

----, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë: With a selection of letters by family and friends, Vol. three, 1852-1855*, ed. Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004).

Brontë, Charlotte and Emily, *The Belgian Essays*, ed. and trans. Sue Lonoff (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

Brontë, Charlotte, Emily and Anne, *Poems of Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë: Now for the First Time Printed* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1902).

----, *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell* (London: Aylott and Jones, 1846).

Brontë, Charlotte, Branwell, Emily, and Anne, *Selected Poems: The Brontës*, ed. Juliet R.V. Barker (London: 1985, Dent).

Brontë, Charlotte, Emily, Anne and Branwell, *Selections from the Poetry of Charlotte, Emily, Anne, and Branwell Brontë*, ed. Arthur C. Benson (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1915).

Brontë, Emily. *Wuthering Heights*, A Novel by Ellis Bell, In Three Volumes (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1847).

----, *Gondal Poems*, Edited from the Autograph MS in the British Museum by Helen Brown and Joan Mott, With Two Facsimiles (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Shakespeare Head Press, 1938).

----, *Thirty-one Poems by Emily Jane Brontë: Transcribed from the Original Manuscript in Mr. A.J. Law's Honresfeld Collection*, transcribed by Davidson Cook,

F.S.A. Scot. (May 1926). Unpublished transcription held in the Brontë Parsonage Museum, Haworth.

----, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Janet Gezari (London: Penguin Books, 1992).

----, *The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë*, ed. C.W. Hatfield (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

----, *Emily Brontë's Selected Poems*, ed. Philip Henderson (London: Lawson and Dunn, 1947).

----, *The Complete Poems of Emily Brontë*, ed. Philip Henderson (London: The Folio Society, 1951).

----, *The Poems of Emily Brontë*, ed. Barbara Lloyd-Evans (London: B.T. Batsford, 1992).

----, *Poems by Emily Brontë*, transcribed by Arthur Bell Nicholls (exact date unknown, 1848 – 1895), now in the Huntington Library, California, (HM2581).

----, *Gondal's Queen: A Novel in Verse by Emily Jane Brontë*, ed. F.E. Ratchford (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955).

----, *The Poems of Emily Brontë*, ed. Derek Roper with Edward Chitham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

----, *The Complete Poems of Emily Brontë*, ed. Clement Shorter (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910).

----, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Clement Shorter, Arranged and collated, with Bibliography and Notes, by C.W. Hatfield (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923).

----, *Wuthering Heights*, ed. Clement Shorter (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911).

Brontë, Emily and Anne, *The Life and Works of the Sisters Brontë: Vol. V, Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey*, ed. with an introduction by Mrs. Humphry Ward, 'The Haworth Edition', reprint of the 1903 edition (New York: AMS Press, 1973).

----, *The Poems of Emily Jane Brontë and Anne Brontë*, ed. Thomas James Wise and John Alexander Symington, 'The Shakespeare Head Brontë' (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1934).

Carlyle, T., *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, in Five Volumes, Volume II (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899).

____, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, in Five Volumes, Volume III (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899).

____, *The Life of Friedrich Schiller: Comprehending an Examination of his Works* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872).

____, *Sartor Resartus* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2002).

Carlyle, T., and Goethe, J.W., *Correspondence Between Goethe and Carlyle*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton (London: Macmillan, 1887).

Carter, John W. and Pollard, Henry Graham, *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* (London: Constable, 1934).

Caygill, Howard, *A Kant Dictionary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

Chadwick, Esther Alice, *In the Footsteps of the Brontës* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1914).

Chandler, James and McLane, Maureen N., *The Cambridge Companion to British Romantic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Chitham, Edward, *The Birth of Wuthering Heights: Emily Brontë at Work* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), first published 1998.

Chitham, Edward and Winnifrith, Tom, *Brontë Facts and Brontë Problems* (London: Macmillan, 1983).

Christian, Mildred, G., *A Census of Brontë Manuscripts in the United States*, Reprinted from *The Trollopian*, Number three, December 1947. Rebound for private circulation, 1947 – 1948.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, *Biographia Literaria: or, Biographical Sketches of my literary life and opinions,* vol. I (London: R. Fenner, 1817).

____, *The Complete Poems*, ed. William Keach (London: Penguin, 1997).

Cunningham, Valentine, *Victorian Poetry Now: Poets, Poems, Poetics* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

David, Deirdre, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Davies, S., *Emily Bronte: Heretic* (London: The Women's Press, 1994).

Deegan, Marilyn, and Sutherland, Kathryn, ed. *Text Editing, Print and the Digital World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

Dentith, Simon, *Nineteenth-Century British Literature Then and Now: Reading with Hindsight* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

De Quincey, Thomas, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater and other Writings* (London: Penguin, 2003).

De Staël, Madame Germaine, *On Politics, Literature and National Character*, trans. and ed. Morroe Berger (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1964).

Dickinson, Emily, *The Letters of Emily Dickinson*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1958).

Douglas, G., *Selected Essays of De Quincey* (London: Walter Scott Ltd, 1895).

Du Maurier, Daphne, *The Infernal World of Branwell Brontë* (London: Penguin, 1972).

Emerson, Ralph Waldo, *Essays and Poems* (London: Dent, 1995).

----, *Nature* (London: Penguin, 2008).

Epictetus, *All the Works of Epictetus, Which are now Extant*, trans. and ed. Elizabeth Carter (London: J.F. Rivington, 1758).

Feuerbach, Ludwig, *The Essence of Christianity*, translated by George Eliot, (New York: Prometheus Books, 1989).

Garnett, Richard, *Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (London: Walter Scott, 1888).

Gaskell, Elizabeth, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Gérin, Winifred, *Emily Brontë: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Gezari, Janet, *Last Things: Emily Brontë's Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Glen, H., *Charlotte Brontë: The Imagination Through History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

----, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Goethe, Wolfgang Von, *Wilhelm Meister: Volume One* (London: Dent, 1912).

Goodridge, J.F., *Emily Brontë: Wuthering Heights* (London: Edward Arnold, 1964).

Harman, Claire, *Charlotte Brontë: A Life* (London: Penguin, 2016).

Harris, Kenneth Marc, *Carlyle and Emerson: Their Long Debate* (Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1978).

Harrold, Charles Frederick, *Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834* (London: Archon, 1963).

Hewish, J., *Emily Brontë: A Critical and Biographical Study* (London: Macmillan, 1969).

Homans, Margaret, *Women Writers and Poetic Identity: Dorothy Wordsworth, Emily Brontë and Emily Dickinson* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980).

Horne, R.H., ed. *A New Spirit of the Age* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1844).

Horsfall Turner, J., *The Story of the Brontës: Their Home, Haunts, Friends and Works* (Printed for J. Horsfall Turner, Idel, Bradford; by Thomas Harrison and Sons, Bingley, 1885-9).

Inman, Laura, *The Poetic World of Emily Brontë: Poems from the Author of Wuthering Heights* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2014).

Insole, Christopher, J., *The Intolerable God: Kant's Theological Journey* (Michigan: Eerdmans, 2016).

Jonas, Hans, *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001).

Jones, Edmund D., ed., *English Critical Essays: Nineteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

Kant, Immanuel, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986).

Kirke White, Henry, and Southey, Robert, *The Remains of Henry Kirke White of Nottingham, late of St. John's College Cambridge: with an account of his life: in two volumes* (London: Printed for Vernon, Hood, and Sharpe; Longman, Rees, Hurst and Orme; J. Dighton, T. Barret and J. Nicholson, Cambridge; and W. Dunn and S. Tupman, Nottingham, 1807).

Koch, Daniel, *Ralph Waldo Emerson in Europe: Class, Race and Revolution in the Making of an American Thinker* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

Lemon, Charles, *A Centenary History of the Brontë Society, 1893 – 1993* (Kendal: Titus Wilson and Son, 1993).

Levy, Michelle, and Mole, Tom, *The Broadview Reader in Book History* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2015).

Lutz, Deborah, *The Brontë Cabinet: Three Lives in Nine Objects* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2015).

Maxwell, J.C., ed. *Collected Papers*, J.C. Maxwell, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

McGill, Meredith L., ed., *The Traffic in Poems: Nineteenth-Century Poetry and Transatlantic Exchange* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2008).

Miller, Lucasta, *The Brontë Myth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2001).

Musselwhite, David, E., *Partings Welded Together: Politics and Desire in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel* (London: Methuen, 1987).

Nicoll, W. Robertson, and Wise, Thomas J., *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century: Towards a Literary History of the Period,* Vol.II (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1895).

Pagels, Elaine, *The Gnostic Gospels* (London: Penguin, 1982).

Picardie, Justine, *Daphne* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008).

Porte, Joel and Morris, Sandra, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Ralph Waldo Emerson*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Ratchford, F.E., *The Brontës Web of Childhood* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

Rawson, Claude, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to English Poets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Reed, T.J., *Light in Germany: Scenes from an Unknown Enlightenment* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

----, *Schiller* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Robinson, A. Mary, F., *Emily Brontë* (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1883), Eminent Women Series, ed. John H. Ingram.

Rose, Jonathan, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Rosenbaum, B. and White, P., *Index of English Literary MSS*, Vol. IV: 1800-1900, Part 1, Arnold – Gissing (London: Mansell, 1982).

Schiller, Johann Christoph Freidrich, *Sammliche Werke in Zwolf Banden, Erste Band* (Stuttgart und Tübingen: I. G. Cottaf'chen Buchhandling, 1838), (Owned by the Brontë family, now in the Brontë Parsonage Museum).

____, *The Poems of Schiller*, translated by Edgar A. Bowring, C.B., M.P. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1875).

Schlegel, Friedrich, *Dialogue on Poetry and Literary Aphorisms*, trans., introduced and annotated by Ernst Behler and Roman Struc (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968).

Shelley, P.B., *The Works of P.B. Shelley* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1994).

Shillingsburg, Peter L., *Textuality and Knowledge* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).

Shine, Hill, *Carlyle's Fusion of Poetry, History, and Religion by 1834* (Washington: Kennikat Press, 1938).

Shorter, C.K., *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1896).

----., *C.K.S. An Autobiography: A Fragment by Himself*, J.M. Bulloch ed. (Privately Issued for Mrs C.K. Shorter by Constable and Company, London, 1927).

----, *The Brontës: Life and Letters*, Vol. I (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908).

----, *The Brontës: Life and Letters, being an attempt to present a full and final record of the lives of the three sisters, Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Brontë, from the biographies of Mrs Gaskell and others, and from numerous hitherto unpublished manuscripts and letters*, Vol. II (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908).

Sidgwick, Henry, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Kant and other Philosophical Lectures and Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1905).

Sinclair, May, *The Three Brontës* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1912).

Smith, Anne, ed., *The Art of Emily Brontë* (London: Vision Press, 1976).

Smurthwaite, John, *The Life of John Alexander Symington, Bibliographer and Librarian, 1887–1961: A Bookman's Rise and Fall* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1995).

Spurgeon, C.F.E., *Mysticism in English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913).

Stevenson, Lionel, *Victorian Fiction: A Guide to Research* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964).

Stillinger, Jack, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Swinburne, Algernon Charles, *A Note on Charlotte Brontë* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1877).

Symington, J.A., *Bibliography of the Works of all Members of the Brontë Family and of Brontëana*, The Shakespeare Head Brontë: The Bibliography (Delaware: Ian Hodgkins and Co., 2000).

Thormählen, M., *The Brontës and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

----, ed., *The Brontës in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Wemyss Reid, T., *Charlotte Brontë: A Monograph* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1877).

Wilson, Romer, *All Alone: The Life and Private History of Emily Jane Brontë* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1928).

Wise, T.J., *A Brontë Library: a catalogue of printed books, manuscripts and autograph letters by members of the Brontë family / collected by Thomas James Wise* (London: Printed for private circulation only, 1929).

----, *The Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn: A Further Inquiry into the Guilt of Certain Nineteenth Century Forgers*, Fannie E. Ratchford, ed. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1944).

Wordsworth, William, *Complete Poetical Works*,Thomas Hutchinson, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936).

Journal Articles.

Arnedillo, Oscar, 'Emily Jane Brontë and St. Theresa of Avila: Twin Souls in Different Contexts', *Brontë Studies*, Vol. 27, Issue 1, March 2002, pp.35-38.

Barker, Ernest, 'The Inspiration of Emily Brontë' *Brontë Society Transactions*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, January 1951, pp.3-9.

Bauman, Susan R., 'In the Market for Fame: The Victorian Publication History of the Brontë Poems,' *Victorian Review*, Volume 30, Number 1, 2004, pp.44-71.

____, 'Her Sisters' Keeper: Charlotte Brontë's Defence of Emily and Anne', *Women's Writing*, 14:1, 23-48, DOI: 10.1080/09699080701195603, Published online: 4 February 2009.

____, 'Veritable Utterances: Mid-Victorian Interpretations of Emily Brontë's Poems', *Brontë Studies*, Vol. 27, Issue 3, November 2002, pp.201-209.

Bayford, E.G., 'Davidson Cook,' in *The Times Literary Supplement*, December 27 1941.

Bowers, Fredson, 'Greg's "Rationale of Copy-Text" Revisited,' *Studies in Bibliography*, ed., Fredson Bowers, Vol. 31, Published for, Bibliographical Society of the University of West Virginia by The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1978, pp. 90-161.

Chitham, Edward, '"Often Rebuked….": Emily's After All?', *The Brontë Society Transactions*, Vol. 18, Issue 3, January 1985.

Clarke, Michael M., 'Emily Brontë's "No Coward Soul" and the need for a Religious Literary Criticism,' *Victorians Institute Journal*, v.37, 2009, pp.195-223.

Cook, Davidson, 'Brontë Manuscripts in the Law Collection,' *The Bookman*, November 1925, 69, 410, pp.100-104.

----, 'Emily Brontë's Poems,' *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Vol. C, July December 1926 (August), pp.248-262.

Cooper, Christopher, 'Was Emily Brontë an Amateur Geometer?' *BS*, Vol. 40, No. 1, January 2015, pp.1-10.

De la Mare, Walter, 'A Family of Genius', *TLS*, 8 April 1915, p.117.

De Selincourt, Ernest, 'The Text of Emily Brontë', *TLS*, 13 March 1924, p.149.

Dobell, Sidney, 'My Dream and other Poems', *The Athenæum*, 4 July 1846, p.682.

Dobson, M., ‘Was Emily Brontë a Mystic?’ *BST*, Vol. 11, Issue 3, January 1948, pp.166-175.

Drew, David P., ‘Emily Brontë and Emily Dickinson as Mystic Poets’, *BST*, Vol. 15, Issue 3, January 1968, pp.227-232.

Edgerley, C. Mabel, ‘Obituary: Mr. C.W. Hatfield,’ *BST*, Vol. 10. Issue 3, 1 January 1942, pp.115-116.

Greg, W.W., ‘The Rationale of Copy-Text’, *Studies in Bibliography*, ed., Fredson Bowers, Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Vol. III, 1950-1951, pp.19-36.

Hargreaves, G.D., ‘The Publishing of “Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell”.’ *BST*, Vol. 15, Issue 4, 1969, pp.294-300.

----, ‘The Poems of Ellis Bell: The Version Printed in 1846 and the Manuscript Version’, *BST*, Vol. 21, Issue 3, 1994, pp.49-62.

Laporte, Charles, and Rudy, Jason R., ‘Editorial Introduction: Spasmodic Poetry and Poetics’, *Victorian Poetry*, 42.4, 2004, pp.421-427.

Mackay, Angus, 'On the Interpretation of Emily Brontë’, *Westminster Review*, August 1898,150.2, pp.203-218.

Maison, Margaret, 'Emily Brontë and Epictetus’, *Notes and Queries*, CCXXIII, June 1978, pp.230-231.

Malfait, Olivia and Demoor Marysa, ‘Sibling Collaboration and Literary After-life: The Case of the Brontës,’ *BS*, Vol. 40, Number 3, September 2015, pp.187-200.

Mince, H.A., ‘An Account of the MS. of Emily Brontë’s Poems in the Collection of Mr. A.J. Law, Honresfeld, Littleborough.’ *Transactions of the Rochdale Literary and Scientific Society*, xii. 93, 1916.

Nussey, Ellen, ‘Reminiscences of Charlotte Brontë’, *Scribner’s Monthly*, May 1871, Vol II, no. 1, pp.18-31.

Pudney, John, ‘Brontë’, *The Bookman*, July 1934.

Ratchford, Fannie, ‘Correct Text of Emily Brontë’s Poems: Mr. C.W. Hatfield’s Fastidious Scholarship’, *BST*, Vol. 10, Issue 3, 1 January 1942, pp.107-109.

Roper, D., ‘Emily Brontë’s Lover’, *BST*, Issue 1-2, 1 January 1993, pp.25-31.

----, ‘The Revision of Emily Brontë’s Poems of 1846’, *The Library*, 6th ser., 6, 1984, pp. 153-167.

Shorter, C., ‘The Relics of Emily Brontë,’ *The Woman at Home*, August 1897, pp.906-907.

Skelton, John, ‘Charlotte Brontë’, *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, May 1857, pp.569-582.

Smith, Margaret, ‘New Light on Mr. Nicholls,’ *BST*, Vol. 19, Issue 3, January 1987, pp.97-106.

Starzyk, Laurence, ‘Emily Brontë: Poetry in a Mingled Tone,’ *Criticism*, Spring 1972, 14, 2, pp.119-136.

Stephen, Lesley, ‘Charlotte Brontë’, *Cornhill Magazine*, December 1877, pp.723-729.

Stoneman, Patsy, 'Shirley as Elegy', *BS*, Vol. 40, No. 1, January 2015, pp.22-33.

Swinburne, Algernon Charles, ‘Emily Brontë’, *The Athenæum*, 2903, 16 June 1883, pp.762-763.

Willett, Flora Katherine, ‘Which Brontë was “Often Rebuked”?’, *BST*, Vol. 18, Issue 2, 1 January 1982, pp.143-148.

Winifrith Tom, 'Charlotte and Emily Brontë: A Study in the Rise and Fall of Literary Reputations’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 26, 1996, pp.14-24.

Newspaper Archives.
(Accessed through Proquest unless otherwise stated).

The Athenæum.
The Atlas.
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (Internet Library of Early Journals and BPM).
The Bookman.
Brittania.
Brontë Society Transactions (BPM).
Brontë Studies (BPM).
Cornhill Magazine.
The Critic.
The Dublin University Magazine.
The Eclectic Review.
Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country.
Graham's Magazine.
The Nineteenth Century and After. (BL).
Notes and Queries.
The Rochdale Observer (Touchstones Local History Collection, Rochdale).
Scribner's Monthly.
Sharpe's London Magazine.
The Sphere (U of L, SC, Newspapers).
The Times Literary Supplement. (*TLS* Archive).
Tait's Edinburgh Magazine.
The Westminster Review.
The Woman at Home (BL).
The Yorkshire Post.

Archive Collections.
(Unless detailed here individual call-numbers and shelf-marks are given in footnotes).

Minutes of the Barnsley Booklovers' Club (BBC), Barnsley Archive and Local Studies Department (BA), UK (A/3598/G).

‘The Correspondence of Phyllis Bentley,’ West Yorkshire Archives (WYAS), Calderdale, Halifax, UK (PB/C:68).

University of British Columbia Library (UBC), ‘Thomas J. Wise Collection’, Rare Books and Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library: Z1024. U56v. 183-192: V.186 Folders 1-4 – 1-5: Hatfield – Cook correspondence – 1925-1926), Canada.

British Library Collections (BL) UK.

Brontë Parsonage Museum collections (BPM), Haworth, West Yorkshire, UK.

‘The Correspondence of the Brontë Family’, Brotherton Special Collections, The Brotherton Library, University of Leeds (U of L, SC) UK.

‘The Correspondence of Daphne DuMaurier and J. Alexander Symington’, University of Exeter, Special Collections, UK.

The University of Delaware Special Collections, USA (MSS 387, Folder 30).

The Huntington Library Special Collections, California, USA.

The University of Illinois Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, USA (x821 B78 1848).

‘Correspondence from William Law to Butler Wood’, WYAS, Bradford, UK (DB/28/C21).

Percy Lund Humphries Archive, WYAS, Bradford (56D94).

Pierpont Morgan Bonnell Collection, New York, USA.

‘John Alexander Symington, Collected Historical, Literary and Political Records,’ WYAS, Leeds, UK (WYL218).

Online Resources / links:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/4YGG7k013n4bhlpFjqFy2dX/what-will-s-will-tells-us-about-shakespeare (BBC and National Archives – multi-spectral imaging).

http://www.iep.utm.edu/germidea/ (The Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy).